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THE BEGINNINGS OF SPANISH
SETTLEMENT IN THE EL PASO DISTRICT

BY
ANNE E. HUGHES



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I. INTRODUCTORY: SPANISH EXPANSION INTO NEW MEXICO AND NUEVA VIZCAYA²

A general view of the colonizing movements of New Spain on her northern frontier, particularly those affecting the development of the provinces of New Mexico and Nueva Vizcaya, is necessary for a clear comprehension and a true valuation of the beginnings of Spanish settlement in the El Paso district. The occupation of the latter region, in fact, was a natural sequence of the growth and development of those two provinces.

1. *Advance up the West Coast of Mexico.*—During the sixteenth century two lines of approach to New Mexico from the south were opened. The first of these was the route up the west coast, through the present states of Sinaloa and Sonora, up the Sonora River and down the San Pedro River to the Gila, and thence across Arizona to the Pueblo region of New Mexico. Offering the path of least resistance, this route was followed by the first adventurous captains and zealous priests who sought to penetrate the interior. The occupation of Culiacán by Guzmán, the exploration of Sonora by Fray Juan de Asunción, and the

¹ This paper was written under the direction of Professor Herbert E. Bolton.

² This introduction is based chiefly on Baneroft's *North Mexican States and Texas*; Baneroft's *Arizona and New Mexico*; Arlegui's *Crónica de la Provincia de N. S. P. S. Francisco de Zacatecas*; Charles W. Hackett's "The Revolt of the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico in 1680" in the *Quarterly* of the Texas State Historical Association, vol. 15, no. 2, vol. 16, nos. 2 and 3; and Oñate's "Diario", in *Doc. Inéditos de Indias*, vol. 16, pp. 240-244.

journey of Fray Marcos de Niza across Arizona to Zuñi, all paved the way for the spectacular military occupation of New Mexico by Vásquez de Coronado, who in 1540 and 1541 traversed Sonora, Arizona, and New Mexico, subdued the Pueblo tribes, and crossed the plains northeastward to perhaps latitude 40°, but returned to Mexico without having established a permanent settlement. The fruits of these expeditions were meager, and four decades of inactivity in New Mexican exploration followed, due in part to a revolt of the native tribes of Nueva Galicia and in part to the discovery of rich minerals in Zacatecas and northern Durango.

2. *Advance up the Central Plateau.*—Though the last half of the sixteenth century was a period of inactivity as regards the exploration and settlement of New Mexico, a new and more direct line of approach to that region by way of the great central plateau of Mexico was being marked out by the men who were searching for the rich gold and silver deposits of Durango. From Guadalajara, Querétaro, and other northern outposts, innumerable exploring parties set out to the north and northwest in search of minerals, and soon the great mining centers of Guanajuato, Zacatecas, Indé, Aviño, Pánuco, San Andrés and Santa Bárbara sprang into existence. By the side of the explorer went the missionary, the Jesuit fathers founding missions at Parras and Papasquiario and in general following the westerly edge of the plateau, and the Franciscan fathers of Guadalajara and Zacatecas founding missions at Nombre de Dios, Durango, Topia, Cuenca, Satillo, and San Bartolomé, and in general following the easterly half of the plateau. Behind the miner and missionary, the ranchman and settler moved northward to Sombrerete, Nombre de Dios, and Durango; San Luis Potosí, Parras, and Saltillo. By the middle of the century the province of Nueva Galicia and the alcaldía mayor of Zacatecas were settled in this way and their boundaries roughly defined; and in 1561 the new province of Nueva Vizcaya, which included the modern Durango, Chihuahua, Coahuila, Sinaloa, and Sonora, was carved out of the great north by Ibarra. The advance was so rapid that by 1580

the southern half of Nueva Vizcaya was occupied, and the slender stream of settlement was ready to push its way beyond San Bartolomé, the last outpost, into the northern half of Nueva Vizcaya.

Thus Spanish settlement had reached the head waters of the Conchos River, a southern tributary of the Río del Norte, or Río Grande. Along these two streams a number of expeditions were soon to find their way into the heart of New Mexico and open the path for actual settlement. In 1581 Rodríguez, accompanied by two other priests and a military escort under Chamuscado, entered New Mexico by this route and planted the first but short-lived mission, in the neighborhood of Albuquerque. In 1582, with the aim of rescuing Rodríguez's expedition, Espejo set forth with a small military escort and a force of Indian allies, entered the Pueblo region, explored far to the east and the west, and returned to Mexico over a new route down the Pecos River and across to the mouth of the Conchos River.

3. *The Colonization of New Mexico.*—Near the close of the century, the Spanish government began to consider plans for colonizing New Mexico and exploiting the Pueblo Indians. Accordingly, at the request of the viceroy, Losa submitted a plan which called for three hundred settlers and the granting of powers of *encomenderos*. Upon receiving Losa's recommendation, the king in 1583 definitely adopted a policy of colonization. Within the next decade there followed six or more unsuccessful efforts to settle the new province, among which were the unauthorized and ill-fated expeditions of Sosa and of Bonilla and Humaña.

The reward of success, however, was destined for Don Juan de Oñate, who secured a contract for the settlement of New Mexico in 1595, and, notwithstanding innumerable obstacles placed in his way by jealous rivals, set out upon his mission in 1597, accompanied by four hundred men, one hundred and thirty of whom took their families with them. Leaving the old Conchos River trail to his right, Oñate selected a new and more direct route due north from Santa Bárbara. On April 20, 1598, he reached the Río del Norte in latitude 31° 30'; and on April

30, "the day of the Ascension of the Lord," he took formal possession of New Mexico, at a place three leagues above the point where he first touched the river. Continuing up stream five and one-half leagues, on May 4 he reached "El Passo del Rio," the ford which became the gateway into New Mexico, and is the center of the colonizing movement described in this paper. Proceeding northward to the Pueblo region, Oñate conquered the native tribes and planted a mission and a settlement at San Juan de los Caballeros, on the Chama River. San Juan being abandoned by the settlers while Oñate was on one of his numerous exploring expeditions to the east and the west, he re-established his colony by 1609 at Santa Fé, the first permanent settlement within the limits of New Mexico. Thus the work of Oñate fittingly closed the century of exploration and attempted settlement, and opened the new century of colonization and expansion by laying the cornerstone of Spanish occupation in New Mexico.

4. *The Expansion of New Mexico.*—The first quarter of the seventeenth century was occupied largely in Christianizing the Pueblo Indians and planting Spanish settlements among them; but at the same time it initiated the expansion policy which was to give direction to the zeal of priest and military leader during the remainder of the century. Though part of this expansive energy was expended in a northeastward search for Gran Quivira, whose mystic hoards of wealth had lured the soldier of fortune since the days of Coronado, by far the greater part of it was directed toward the region now embraced in western Texas, partly for exploration and partly for Christianizing the Indians and opening up trade with them. The most noteworthy expeditions of the period were three missionary journeys of Father Juan de Salas and other religious, between 1611 and 1632, to the Jumano country, variously estimated at from one hundred and twelve to two hundred leagues to the southeast, on the Río de las Nueces, or Colorado River, of Texas; the military expedition of Alonso Vaca in search of Quivira, about 1634; the military expedition of Captains Martín and Castillo to the Jumano country in 1650; and the exploring party of Guadalajara to the Jumano country

in 1654. These movements eastward culminated in the expedition of Mendoza to the Jumano country in 1683-4, which took place from El Paso after the abandonment of New Mexico in 1680.

5. *The Expansion of Northern Nueva Vizcaya.*—During the first quarter of the seventeenth century the infant colony of New Mexico was a detached group of settlements, separated from Nueva Vizcaya by an uninhabited area five or six hundred miles in breadth; and before it could become safe and prosperous that gap must be filled. Therefore, while New Mexico was feeling her way into the plains of western Texas, missions and settlements were slowly extending up the plateau of Nueva Vizcaya by way of the valley of the Conchos and the foothills of the Sierra Madre, and slowly filling in the menacing gap. The Franciscans, as before, followed the easterly half of the plateau and worked among the Conchos Indians in the Conchos Valley; and the Jesuits kept to the foothills, pursuing their labors among the Tarahumares. The founding of the pueblo of San Francisco de Conchos in 1604; a second pueblo of Conchos, twenty leagues from Santa Bárbara, in 1609; and San Pedro, Atotonilco, Mescomahua, and Mapimí, before 1645, marked the progress of the Franciscans. A short-lived mission in the San Pablo Valley in 1611; San Miguel de las Bocas in Espíritu Santo Valley, in 1630; the pueblo of San Gabriel; the Spanish settlement and garrison at Parral in 1631-32; San Felipe and San Gerónimo Huexotitlan, in 1639; and six other pueblos, including San Francisco Borja and Satevó on a tributary of the Conchos, before 1648, marked the advance of the Jesuits.

The peaceful progress of the work of the Franciscan and Jesuit fathers was suddenly interrupted by two bitter Indian wars. The first of these outbreaks occurred in 1644, among the Conchos, Tobosos, and Salineros, who did their work so thoroughly that soon nothing was left to the priests but the mining camp of Indé, the Jesuit mission at San Miguel, the Franciscan mission at Mapimí, and the garrison settlement at Parral, with a few outlying mines and haciendas. Scarcely was this revolt

quieted when another occurred among the Tarahumares, in 1648, which continued four years, and during which nearly all of the Jesuit and many of the Franciscan missions were destroyed.

As soon as peace was restored, both brotherhoods reoccupied their abandoned establishments and prosecuted their labors with increased energy. The Franciscans formed a branch convent at Parral in 1656, and before 1667 added sixteen new missions and conversions and selected the sites for eight more. The Jesuits were no less energetic. In 1668, notwithstanding Indian wars, pestilence and famine, they had under their jurisdiction five *partidos*, each with a priest in charge, and three new missions at Natividad, San Mateo, and San Ignacio; and by 1673 they had extended their field as far to the northwest as Mission San Bernabé, with its three villages of Cuitzóchie, Cusihuriáchie, and Coráchie. The jurisdictions of the two orders were separated by a line roughly drawn from Durango over the mountains to Tutuaca, just above the bend of the Yaqui River.

Of more immediate importance to the history of the El Paso district is the work of the Franciscans among the Julimes, Janos, Sumas, and other tribes who occupied the territory north of the Conchos and Tarahumares. In 1663 they established a mission at San Antonio de Casas Grandes, and about the same time two others at Torreón and Carretas. According to Arlegui, Santa María de la Natividad, founded in 1660; San Pedro Namiquipa, in 1663; Santiago Babonyaba, in 1665; Santa Ysabel Torcimares, in 1668; and San Andrés, in 1694, were among the new conversions of this region. It is certain from the documents used in the preparation of this paper that before 1684 missions and Indian pueblos were already established along the Río del Sacramento, for, on his return from the Jumano country, Mendoza mentioned passing the pueblo of San Antonio de Julimes and four or five opulent haciendas; and Father López, in summarizing the damage done during the Manso revolt, indicates that the entire region between El Río del Sacramento, Casas Grandes, and El Paso was thinly sprinkled over with missions, estancias, and haciendas.

6. *The Pueblo Revolt of 1680*.—To meet this northward moving column from Nueva Vizcaya, there now occurred a counter movement from New Mexico. In 1680 the Spaniards of New Mexico, who numbered about two thousand eight hundred persons, were enjoying a fair degree of prosperity, but the Indians were restless and dissatisfied under Spanish rule. Under the leadership of Popé, the natives organized a widespread revolt which included the Indians of the entire province, and plotted to rise on August 11 and massacre the Spaniards, sending around a knotted cord to indicate the time for the outbreak. The conspiracy becoming known to the Spaniards, the Indians rose on the tenth, and laid siege to Santa Fé on the fifteenth. When the settlers who had taken refuge in Santa Fé were finally able to raise the siege on August 20, they withdrew southward toward Isleta, where the settlers of the southern region had gathered for protection. Finding Isleta abandoned, they continued their retreat until they overtook the fleeing colonists from Isleta at Fray Cristóbal; both divisions continued southward to La Salineta, where in a council of war Governor Otermín and his advisers resolved to withdraw to El Paso and make that place a base of operations for the reconquest of the revolted province. This resolution they carried into effect. The settlement at El Paso now became the center of a new district—a separate province, so to speak—which from that day to this has played a distinct part in the development of the Southwest.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

The history of the beginnings of Spanish settlement in the El Paso district has never before been written. Indeed, the primary materials for the history have not been available until discovered recently by Professor Herbert E. Bolton in the archives of Mexico. These newly found materials, which constitute the chief sources of information, are four manuscript *expedientes*, or groups of related documents, covering the years 1680–1685. Among the documents, which record the administrative relations between the central and the provincial governments, are orders and proclamations of the governors of New Mexico; petitions and certifications of the cabildo of Santa Fé; representations and decisions of the religious of New Mexico; criminal *procesos*; declarations of witnesses; opinions of the *fiscales*; proceedings of the *junta general*; decrees

of the viceroys; and letters written by the governors, religious, military captains, and other persons of official rank or in private life. The four *expedientes* are called respectively: (1) "Autos tocantes, ál Alsamiento de Los Yndios de la Provincia de la Nueva Mexico";³ (2) "Autos Pertene-cientes a el alcamiento de los Yndios de la Proua del nuebo Mexco y la entrada, y subcesos de ella que se hico para su recuperación";⁴ (3) "Autos sobre los Socorros q pide el Govr. de la na. Mexico, y otras nottas tocantes a la Sublevazion de los Yndios Barbaros de aquella provia";⁵ (4) a collection without a title, but referred to as "Expendiente no. 2, fojas 47."

These four collections were supplemented by a compilation of documents—also from the Mexican archives—selected mainly from *Autos sobre los Socorros*, but containing some documents not found in that collection; the compilation, which was made by Father Talamantes, is called "Viage que a solicitud de los Naturales de la Provincia de Texas, y otras Naciones circumvecinos, y de orden del Governador del Nuevo-Mexico D. Domingo Gironza Petris de Cruzate hizo el Mastre de Campo Juan Domínguez de Mendoza, en fines del año de 1683 y principios de 1684."⁶ The foregoing documents are contained in Dr. Bolton's collection.

The above-described materials have been supplemented by a few single documents and a number of secondary sources, mainly old chronicles, belonging to the Bancroft Collection of the University of California; some notes from the old church records at Juárez, made by Dr. Bolton and Mr. J. W. Curd of El Paso; copies of several documents in the Bandelier Collection at the Peabody Museum of Harvard University, furnished by courtesy of the curator, Frederick W. Putnam; and copies of several documents from the Santa Fé archives now in the Library of Congress. The titles of these documents appear in the footnotes.

³ It is further described as "Num 27 . de los Papeles del Supor . Govno . Año de 1681 . Segundo quaderno de Numo .6 . Pa . remitir á leon . Srio . Don Pedro Velasques de la Cadena . Expediente no. 6 . N. fojas 123.

⁴ It is further described as "Varios Hechos de los Indios de Nuevo Mejico. Numo 20 Año de 1682 Expediente No. 2 y fojas 120. Srio. D. Pedro Velasquez de la Cadena."

⁵ It is further described as "Num .28 de los Papeles del Supor Govno. 367. Año de 1685 Numo . 4 Y la mudanza del Puesto del paso del Rio del norte al de la Ysleta á Ynstancias y pedimtos. de los Vezos y Pe. Procur Fr. Nicolas Lopez y la Gente y demas Socorros q pide pa este efecto Expediente no 4 No. fojas 167 Srio. D P. de la Cadena."

⁶ It is further described as "Copiado Del Original que existe en el oficio mas antiguo del Virreynato de Nueva-España, en los Autos sobre la sublevacion del Nuevo-Mexico. Quaderno. 1º."

II. EARLY MISSIONS AND SETTLERS IN THE EL PASO DISTRICT,
1659-1680

1. *Attempted Missionary Work before 1659.*—Though the advance of settlement toward the El Paso district, as sketched above, was northward from Durango, the actual establishment of missions and the beginnings of settlement in that region were the result of a counter movement southward from the Spanish colony in the interior of New Mexico. The two waves of colonizing activity were destined to clash along the banks of the Río del Norte, and to create jealous rivalries between the provinces of New Mexico and Nueva Vizcaya.

Although the conversion of the Mansos,¹ the wild, non-agricultural tribe of Indians dwelling at El Paso, was delayed until the middle of the seventeenth century, missionary work among those Indians had probably been in progress in a desultory way since the first religious entered New Mexico by way of El Paso. According to Benavides, the Mansos first displayed interest in resident missionaries the last time he passed their ranchería, about the year 1630, at which time he preached to them, and placed in their ranchería a cross, telling them its meaning. The natives seemed much interested, repaired to the cross to pray and to be healed, and asked the friar for religious to teach and baptize them. Recognizing the advantages to be derived from a mission establishment at that point—by way of making safe the highway to New Mexico, converting and reducing to settlement the neighboring Indians, and developing rich mining camps and splendid ranch sites along the highway—Benavides suggested that four religious with a guard of fifteen or twenty soldiers would be

¹ For the origin of the name of this tribe and its characteristics, see Oñate, *Diario*, in Pacheco and Cardenas, *Col. Doc.* XVI, p. 243; Benavides, Memorial, in *Land of Sunshine*, Vol. XIII, p. 281; and Vetancurt, *Menologio Franciscano de los Varones mas Señalados* (Mex. 1871), pp. 24, 429.

sufficient for an establishment at El Paso. It was perhaps at this suggestion that missionaries were eventually sent there from New Mexico.^{1a}

The earliest account of such missionary work available to the present writer is given by Medina, in his life of Fray Antonio de Arteaga, provincial of the Holy Province of the Barefoot Friars of San Diego and, at one time, a missionary to the Pueblo Indians. Encouraged by his success in converting the Pueblo Indians, Arteaga undertook to bring the Mansos into the fold of the church, and with so much success that the neighboring Indians, encouraged by the example of the Mansos, also sought instruction and were baptized by the missionary.² Though the date of Arteaga's visit to the Mansos is not given, it was subsequent to 1629, the time of the arrival of Fray Estévan de Perea, the new custodian of the conversion of San Pablo, in whose company Arteaga entered New Mexico.

During the administration of Governor Bernardo López de Mendizábal, who held office in New Mexico not earlier than 1656 nor later than 1661,³ another effort was made to catechise the Mansos. This time Fray García de San Francisco y Zúñiga, in company with fathers Juan Cabal and Francisco Pérez, all of New Mexico, went to El Paso to instruct the Mansos, taking with him alms which he had collected from the citizens of New Mexico. According to Vetancurt, he founded the pueblo of the Mansos and left Pérez and Cabal to catechise the Indians. Seeing the repugnance of the religious to remaining—for the Mansos seem to have been intractable—García told the priests that there was no occasion for becoming weary, as the time for the Indians' conversion had not yet arrived. After García's departure the natives set upon their teachers and tried to kill them. News of the disturbance reaching Governor Mendizábal, he sent from Santa Fé a rescue party under Maestre de Campo Thome Domín-

^{1a} Benavides, *op. cit.*, p. 281-2.

² Medina, *Crónica de la Santa Provincia de San Diego de Mexico* (1682), p. 169.

³ Baneroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*, p. 165.

guez de Mendoza, who pacified the tumult and took the missionaries back to New Mexico.⁴

2. *The Establishment of Mission Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, 1659.*—Though the efforts of Cabal and Pérez were futile, the conversion of the Mansos soon followed, in 1659. In this year Father García de San Francisco y Zúñiga again visited El Paso, and, with the assistance of Father Francisco de Salazar,⁵ laid the foundation of the mission of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe.

Since the work of García may be regarded as the cornerstone of the El Paso establishments, a short sketch of his life will not be amiss at this point. He came to New Mexico in 1629 in company with Fray Antonio de Arteaga, and in the train of Fray Estévan de Perea, the newly elected custodian of the conversion of San Pablo. At that time García was a lay brother, but his superiors, feeling that his influence for good would be increased by his taking orders, commanded him under the oath of obedience to receive them. Though he had formerly, through humility, refused to enter the holy state, he now became a priest. In 1630 he was given charge of the conversion of Senecú by Father Arteaga, who had founded it. Father García adorned the church with an organ and rich ornaments, and cultivated grapes, of which he made wine for himself and for the other monasteries. He became the founder of the mission of Nuestra Señora del Socorro, whence he went to El Paso to found Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe.⁶

The account of the founding of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, comes from Father García's own pen, in the form of an entry in the administration books of the mission. A certified copy made in 1663 still exists in the archives of the Church of Guadalupe at Juárez. The importance of this document justifies its reproduction here in translation.

⁴ Vetancurt, *Menologio*, pp. 24–25; Petition of the citizens of New Mexico to the viceroy, August 26, 1685, *Autos sobre los Socorros*, folio 126.

⁵ Petition of the citizens of New Mexico to the viceroy, August 26, 1685, *Autos sobre los Socorros*, folio 126.

⁶ Vetancurt, *Menologio*, p. 24; Vetancurt, *Crónica de la Provincia del Santo Evangelio de Mexico* (1697), p. 98; Medina, *Crónica* (Mexico, 1682), p. 168.

In the name of the most holy and indivisible Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, three distinct persons and one only true God; for His greater glory, honor, and reverence; for the confusion of the infernal enemy; for the service of the most holy Virgin Mary, Our Lady and immaculate Patron; and for the greater exaltation of our Holy Catholic faith; on the eighth day of the month of December, of the year 1659, I, Fray Jarcía de San Francisco of the order of the minor friars of the regular observance of our Seraphic Father San Francisco, preacher, actual definitor of the holy custody of the conversion of San Pablo of New Mexico, minister and guardian of the convent of San Antonio del Pueblo de Senecú: whereas the captains and old men of the heathendom of the Mansos and Zumanas Indians went to the said custody to supplicate me to descend to preach them the Holy Evangel of Our Lord Jesus Christ and succeed in quieting them and baptizing them; and our Reverend Father Fray Juan Gonsales, custodian of said custody, having given a patent to Señor Don Juan, Manso governor and captain-general for his majesty; and having received the patents from my superior, in which he orders me to descend for the instruction and conversion of this heathendom, and license from the said Señor Don Juan, Manso governor; and having descended, with no little labor, to El Passo del Rio del Norte, on the border of New Spain, and in the middle of the custody and province of New Mexico; and having congregated most of the rancherias of the Manso heathen on said site; and having offered them the evangelical word, and they having accepted it for their catechism, and permitted me to build a little church of branches and mud and a monastery thatched with straw—said heathen aiding and receiving me for their preacher and minister; by these acts, as aforesaid, and by virtue of the patent of apostolic commissary, which I have from my superiors, through the privileges which the apostolic chair has displayed for new conversions to our sacred religion, raising this holy cross, which I planted, and building this church, in which already I have celebrated the sacred mystery of our redemption, I took possession of this conversion of the Mansos and Sumanas, and of all the other surrounding heathen which might be assembled or might be called to our or to whatever evangelical preacher, in name of all our sacred religion, and immediately of the custody of the conversion of San Pablo of New Mexico; and I named and dedicated this holy church and conversion to the most holy Virgin of Guadalupe with the above name of El Passo, placing (as I do place) her holy image, for the which and to redeem it from the demon's tyrannical possession, I call to witness heaven, the earth, and all the holy angels who are present as guard, and especially all the heathen who are of this conversion, and Bernardino Gualtoye, Antonio Guilixigue, Antonio Elogua, Juan Azoloye, Francisco Tzitza, and Felipe Quele, Christians of the Pueblo of Senecú, companions and followers who descended with me.

And as soon as I named this conversion, by the authority of my office, as commissary and head of all those of El Rio del Norte above and surrounding immediately subject to the holy custody of the conversion of San Pablo, and in order that in future times thus it may be confirmed of this

possession, dedication, and naming, I write this in order that it may be preserved in the archive of said holy custody. Dated at El Rio del Norte, at the pass from New Spain to New Mexico, on the 8th day of December, 1659.

“Fray García de San Francisco, Apostolic Commissary of the Mansos and Zumanas—I, Fray Antonio Tabares, notary named by Father Fray García de San Francisco, Apostolic Commissary of these conversions, testify to having transcribed, as above, the said writing, which is preserved in the archive of the custody. Dated April 9, 1663; and as true I sign it.

FRAY ANTONIO TABARES (rubric) Apostolic
Notary named.⁷

Vetancurt, who delights in picturesque and edifying details, gives the following interesting account of the building of the church. There was no timber at hand for the construction of the edifice. García making this lack of material the subject of prayer, some Indians came and conducted him a league and a half away to a grove of beautiful pines, from which timber was cut and carried to the Manso pueblo without much labor. When García was building the convent, Fray Blas de Herrera remarked to him that he was making a very large number of cells. García, says Vetancurt, then prophesied the revolt of 1680 and the retirement of the Spaniards to El Paso, saying that the cells would be too few for the number who must dwell in the convent.⁸

The temporary mission buildings erected by García were soon replaced by more substantial structures. In 1662 García records the dedication of the cornerstone of the church as follows:

On April 2, 1662, I, Fray García de San Francisco, bless the first foundation stone and foundations of the church of this conversion and congregation of the Mansos of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe del Passo, patron and titular of said church. In order that it may be confirmed in the future this writing was placed here, and I sign it as above.

FR. GARCIA DE SAN FRANCISCO.⁹

⁷ *Auto de Fundación de la Misión de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe de los Mansos del Paso del Norte*, in *Libro Primero de Casamientos, El Paso del Norte*, foljas 74-75, A.D. 1659. Bandelier Collection.

⁸ Vetancurt, *Menologio*, pp. 24-25.

⁹ Certificate of the dedication of the cornerstone of the church of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe del Paso del Norte, in *Libro Primero de Casamientos*, folio 76, “2 de Abril del año de 1662.” Bandelier Collection.

The church, which was on the right bank of the Río del Norte¹⁰ and half a league from that stream, was apparently completed in 1668. Vetaneurt, writing about 1691, gives an account of the dedication services held in January of 1668. The account, which contains an interesting bit of information respecting the site of the mission, is subjoined:

On the slope of a rocky wood on the bank of the Río del Norte at the pass, in the year 1659, the conversion of the Lansos, by another name Mansos, was made by the Reverend Father Fray García de San Francisco; and he built a monastery, where are housed thirty religious, with a very capacious church dedicated to Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe Mexicana. In 1668, on January 15, the second Sunday after Epiphany, it was dedicated with much solemnity by the Reverend Father Fray Juan Talaban,¹¹ the custodian assisting and his secretary preaching. That day, by three religious, were baptized one hundred persons; at one door the men, and at another the women; and in the middle of the church they married them. It has more than three thousand parishioners, and today with the governor, soldiers, and other natives of other nations who were spared in the rebellion, they number more than two thousand.¹²

Father García was supported in his labors by the governors of New Mexico and by Fray Alonso de Posadas, a missionary in New Mexico between 1650 and 1660 and custodian of the province between 1660 and 1664. When García set out to found the mission at El Paso, Governor Mendizábal permitted him to take with him, from the mission at Senecú, ten families of Christian Indians to use in teaching the heathen.¹³ Governor Fernando de Villa Nueva, who probably administered the government of New Mexico after 1664,¹⁴ aided García in a similar way. When the zealous father applied to Villa Nueva for six Manso boys and girls, servants of Maestre de Campo Francisco Gómez Robledo,

¹⁰ *Auto* of Otermín, *Autos tocantes*, folio 77; *Doc. Hist. Nuevo Mex.* p. 746. (MS in Bancroft Collection).

¹¹ Father Juan de Talaban was one of the martyrs of the Pueblo revolt. His body was found in the pueblo of Santo Domingo by the retreating Spaniards. See *Autos tocantes*, folios 9-10, 17; Hackett, "The Pueblo Revolt," 123.

¹² Vetaneurt, *Crónica* (Mexico, 1697), Part I, cap. V, sec. 27, p. 98.

¹³ Petition of the citizens of New Mexico, August 26, 1685, *Autos sobre los Socorros*, folio 126.

¹⁴ Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*, p. 165.

for use in teaching the Christian doctrine to the Indians at El Paso, urging the petition on the plea that it was made for the preservation of the settlement, the governor complied with his request.¹⁵ Posadas claimed to have laid the foundation of the "conversion and convent of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe del Paso del Rio," basing his claim, doubtless, on timely aid rendered the struggling mission. On different occasions he furnished as many as three thousand beeves, four thousand head of sheep and goats, two thousand bullocks, two hundred mares and horses, plough-shares, laborers, carpenters, implements, and all the other necessities; this he did because the barbarous inhabitants of the place neither sowed nor knew aught of civilization, having neither houses nor huts. In a few years the settlement had nine thousand head of cattle and from thirteen to fourteen thousand head of sheep and goats, all of which were drawn upon to supply the refugees who retired there when the general revolt in New Mexico occurred in 1680.¹⁶

García's connection with the El Paso missions extended over a period of about twelve years. He held the office of guardian as late as 1671.¹⁷ His last signature in the burial records was on January 30, 1671, and in the baptismal records on September 8, 1671.¹⁸ His death occurred January 22, 1673, in the convent of Senecú, where he was buried. His life-work received high commendation from the chroniclers of his times, by whom he was regarded as a mirror of virtue.¹⁹

¹⁵ Petition of the citizens of New Mexico, August 26, 1685, *Autos sobre los Socorros*, folio 126.

¹⁶ Information furnished by Posadas, October 8, 1685, *Autos sobre los Socorros*, folios 154-157.

¹⁷ In the second folio of *Libro en que se acientan los casamientos desta Conbercion de los Mansos*, the following entry occurs: "On February 3, 1662, I, Fray García de San Francisco, Apostolic Commissioner of this conversion of the Mansos, in this church of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe del Passo, Patron of said conversion and titular of this church, as principal to the marriages, and they are as follows" (*Libro Primero de Casamientos*, folio 2. Bandelier Collection.)

¹⁸ Notes from the Juarez archives furnished by Professor Bolton and Mr. J. W. Curd of El Paso.

¹⁹ Vetaneurt, *Menologio*, pp. 24-25; Medina, *Crónica*, 1682, p. 168.

3. *The Establishment of Missions San Francisco and La Soledad*.—Before 1680 there were established within the El Paso district two other missions; they were Nuestro Padre San Francisco de los Sumas and La Soledad de los Janos. The evidence of the existence of these missions, though not extensive, is quite clear. Since it is so scattered it is brought together at this point. Governor Otermín of New Mexico, in a letter written at El Paso October 20, 1680, mentioned the “new conversions of San Francisco Toma and Nuestra Señora de la Soledad de los Janos.”²⁰ Fray Francisco de Ayeta, writing from El Paso on December 20, 1680, said: “That to abandon it [the project] would be to abandon the missions at one stroke, not only those provinces, but the three conversions of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, La Soledad, and Nuestro Padre San Francisco, and all their Christian people.”²¹ The two missions were again mentioned in a report of the fiscal, June 25, 1682, who said: “In that district of El Paso are found three conversions, or *doctrinas*, called La Soledad, Guadalupe, and San Francisco de los Cumas, the ones which alone have remained of all those that it had in the province of New Mexico.”²²

Both San Francisco de los Sumas and La Soledad de los Janos were located to the right and on the Mexican side of the Río del Norte. Of mission San Francisco Vetancurt says: “Twelve leagues before arriving at this place [Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe] is a chapel with one religious, dedicated to Nuestro Padre San Francisco, where there are some Christians of the nation which they call Zumas and Zumanas, on the bank of the river at the place where it flows toward the east—first place where the wagons arrive on the outward trip.”²³ La Soledad, on the other hand, was some distance westward, and nearer to Casas Grandes than to El Paso, though it is usually spoken of as belonging to the jurisdiction of New Mexico and in the El Paso district.

²⁰ *Carta de Otermín*, October 20, 1680, in *Autos tocantes*, folio 101.

²¹ *Carta de Ayeta*, December 20, 1680, in *Doc. Hist. de Nuevo Mexico*, vol. 1, pp. 541–58.

²² *Dictamen Fiscal*, June 25, 1682, in *Autos Pertenecientes*, folio 119.

²³ Vetancurt, *Crónica* (Mexico, 1697), Part I, cap. V, sec. 27, p. 98.

Cruzate said it was seventy leagues from the pueblo of El Paso, and Arlegui that it was fourteen leagues from Mission San Antonio de Casas Grandes, of which it was a *visita*.²⁴ Unfortunately the present writer has been unable to find the dates of the establishment of San Francisco and La Soledad.

4. *Spanish Settlers at El Paso, 1659-1680*.—The occupation of El Paso by Spanish settlers appears to have taken place about the time of the first mission establishment. Though the meaning is somewhat ambiguous, one phrase in a document of 1685 leads to this conclusion. In recording the beginnings of El Paso, and referring to the period before 1660, the citizens of the villa of Santa Fé use the phrase, "and it was settled."²⁵ This might refer to the congregating of the Indians in an administrative group. In the same passage, however, the citizens say: "The first alcalde mayor and captain of war who was named in this pueblo of El Paso was Captain Andrés López de Gracia; and he was named by General Don Bernardo López de Mendizábal, in whose time was commenced this mission, and when it was settled, etc."²⁶ Mendizábal was governor about 1656-1660. As the alcalde mayor was an officer of a civil settlement and as the Indians were permitted to choose their civil officers from among themselves, these statements seem to indicate that a civil settlement of Spaniards existed at El Paso during the administration of Governor Mendizábal. Further evidence of there being Spanish citizens at El Paso at an early date is found in a letter of Francisco de Gorráez Beaumont, governor of Nueva Vizcaya from 1662 to 1665.²⁷ In the second year of his rule, 1663, in response to the call of the Indians around Casas Grandes for missionaries, Governor Beaumont ordered Captain Andrés García, who was settling [*poblando*] on the Río del Norte, "confines of La Vizcaya in New Mexico," to pass to Casas Grandes, with his family and certain others of his kindred who might assist him; Captain

²⁴ *Carta de Cruzate*, in *Expediente No. 2*, p. 45; Arlegui, *Crónica*, pp. 95-6.

²⁵ Petition of citizens, *Autos sobre los Socorros*, folio 126.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ Bancroft, *North Mexican States and Texas*, vol. 1, p. 337.

García was further ordered to promote the settlement of Casas Grandes and to endeavor to congregate the largest number of Indians possible.²⁸ Captain Gracia's probable successor at El Paso was Maestre de Campo Diego de Truxillo, for we are told that "he who followed as alcalde mayor in this jurisdiction, although he held it for a short time only, was Maestre de Campo Diego de Truxillo, citizen of New Mexico and named by that government of New Mexico."²⁹

Still further evidence that there were Spaniards resident at El Paso before 1680 is found in the marriage, baptismal, and burial records kept at the mission. The first marriage of Spaniards is recorded on November 29, 1678, the contracting parties being Francisco de Archuleta and Doña Bernardina Baca.³⁰ The following thirty-one names of Spaniards are taken from the baptismal and burial records before 1680; thirty of these are from the baptismal and one from the burial records: Captain Francisco Domínguez; Captain López de Grasia; Mariana García Morquez; Francisco Ramírez; Joseph López, his wife, and María, their infant daughter; Captain Andrés de García; Favian García; Don Estéban Xuárez and his wife, Catalina Sonora; Captain Antonio de Berdiquel; Sebastián García; Favian García; Juan de la Cruz; Barnabe Bisaro; Juan del Espíritu Santo; Xtoval Ruiz; Joseph Ramírez; Xtoval Baca; Sesilia de Vitoria, his wife, and María, their infant daughter; Ysabel Baca, godmother of María; Doña María de Archuleta; Doña Ynez Domínguez; Don Francisco de Zebera; María, infant daughter of Teresa Gutiérrez and Joseph López Grasia; Captain Christóbal de Fuentes; Ana María de Fuentes; Antonio Rosero; Martín Zerano; María Martín Zerano. The names occur here in the chronological order in which they appear in the records.³¹

5. *Summary of Progress before 1680.*—Meager as are the foregoing details concerning the beginnings of missions and of Span-

²⁸ *Doc. Hist. Mex., Cuarta Serie*, Tomo III, pp. 233-236 (Mex. 1857). According to Arlegui, *Crónica de la Provincia de N. S. P. S. Francisco de Zacatecas*, pp. 95-96, Casas Grandes was founded in 1640.

²⁹ Petition of citizens, *Autos sobre los Socorros*, folio 126.

³⁰ *Libro Primero de Casamientos*, folio 22 (Bandelier Collection).

³¹ Material furnished by Professor Bolton and Mr. J. W. Curd.

ish settlement in the El Paso district, they are sufficient to show that the occupation of El Paso did not take place in 1680, as is sometimes supposed. The evidence adduced proves that there were at least three missions established and a nucleus of Spanish settlers in the region before the refugees from New Mexico withdrew there in 1680.

The importance of the missionary center may be gathered from the number of priests present in the monastery during the first two decades of its existence. From the old church records at Juárez, it is learned that before 1680 fourteen priests had been at the mission during periods of varying length—these not including the names of Father Francisco de Salazar and Fray Antonio Tabares, the assistants of Father García mentioned above. Father García, as before stated, was guardian until 1671. Fray Benito de la Natividad was there during eight years of García's guardianship. The name of Fray Juan Álvarez appears in 1667, Fray José de Truxillo in 1668, and Fray Agustín de Santa María, Fray Sebastián Navarro, and Fray Nicolás de Salazar in 1675. Of these only Fray Agustín seems to have remained in El Paso very long. Fray Juan de Bonilla, the probable successor of García, had charge of the mission in 1677, when Father Francisco de Ayeta, "Custodio y Juez Eclesiástico de las Conberziones de San Pedro y San Pablo de Nuevo Mexico," accompanied by his secretary, Fray Antonio de Sierra, made his first *visita* on October 10. In 1677 Fray Nicolás de Echavarría joined Father Bonilla, and they both served under Father Álvarez, who was guardian until 1679. On July 3, 1680, Ayeta made his second *visita*, accompanied by a new secretary, Father Fray Pedro Gómez de San Antonio, who later became guardian and served at the mission for forty years. Fray Nicolás Hurtado's name occurs in the records of 1672, and then is not mentioned for several years; later he succeeded Ayeta as custodian, Fray Pedro Gómez serving as his secretary. Fray José Valdez came to Guadalupe in 1680.

Judged by the records, the efforts of these missionaries were not remarkably successful. The following statistics indicate the

extent of the conversions. Before 1680 they had baptized eight hundred and thirty Mansos—if the Indians whose tribal affiliation was not given were Mansos—sixty-two Piros, seventeen Sumas, ten Tanos, five Apaches, and four Jumanos. The statistics of certain years are significant. From July 16, 1662, to April 1, 1663, about twenty-four Indians were baptized; between April 1, 1663, and about April 1, 1664, over three hundred Indians, chiefly adults; during 1663, the most prosperous year before September 20, 1680, two hundred and seventy-six Indians, mostly older children and adults; in 1668, only three Mansos; in 1679, seventy-one Mansos, fourteen Piros, six Sumas, two Jumanos, and two Tanos. The tribe to which the Indians belonged was not indicated in early years; after 1667 the names of Piros, Jumanos, and other tribes appear at intervals, but strict care in indicating the tribal affiliations was not taken until Father Echavarría took charge in October, 1677.³²

The number of tribes represented at the mission is of lively interest. While the mission was primarily for the Mansos, the names of Sumas, Jumanos, Piros, Tanos, and Apaches appear in the records. The Sumas were close neighbors of the Mansos, and the wild Apache tribes infested the surrounding country. The Jumanos apparently dwelt farther away to the east; but according to a note in the records there were present in El Paso in 1670 many Indians from the Jumano pueblos.³³ The Piros appear to have come chiefly from the pueblo of Senecú, although some were registered from the pueblo of Abó, from the pueblo of Galisteo, and from San Antonio de la Isleta.³⁴ In 1670 and 1671 there were a number of Indians from Abó at El Paso.³⁵ The original home of the Tanos is not indicated; doubtless, like the Piros, they came from the interior of New Mexico. The presence of this heterogeneous body of Indians at Guadalupe del Paso points to the importance of the place as a vantage ground for Spanish occupation, and helps to explain in part the difficulty in later years of holding the Indians under restraint.

³² Material furnished by Professor Bolton and Mr. J. W. Curd.

³³ *Libro Primero de Casamientos* (Bandelier Collection).

³⁴ Material furnished by Professor Bolton and Mr. J. W. Curd.

³⁵ *Libro Primero de Casamientos* (Bandelier Collection).

III. THE COMING OF THE REFUGEES FROM SANTA FÉ, 1680

1. *The Temporary Settlement at El Paso.*—When the Spanish and Indian refugees from the revolted province of New Mexico fled southward toward El Paso, their first halt was made at La Salineta, a place four leagues from El Paso on the Texas side of the Río del Norte. There the fugitives remained, approximately, from September 18 to October 9. On September 29 Governor Otermín began making a muster of the soldiers and people with him. Though much delayed and inconvenienced by desertions to El Paso, Casas Grandes, El Sacramento, and other places of safety, the governor was able to report still with him on October 2 the following numbers: "Of Spaniards, one hundred and fifty-five persons bearing arms, and nineteen hundred and forty-six persons of all kinds—men, women, children, and servants; of Indians—Christian Indians who had come with the army from the pueblos of La Isleta, Sevilleta, Alamillo, Socorro, and Senecú—three hundred and seventeen persons, including men, women, and children."¹

All the people at La Salineta seem to have shared the opinion that the permanent encampment, while considering the reconquest of New Mexico, should be made beyond the Río del Norte at El Paso. In a letter to the viceroy dated August 31, 1680,² Father Ayeta suggested the fortification of that point; and in a letter to Otermín dated September 16, Francisco de Agramontes of San Juan Bautista, Sonora, recommended the formation of a *plaza de armas* at the same point. Some of Otermín's military advisers, among them Juan Domínguez de Mendoza, made similar suggestions to their chief. On October 5, the same day that

¹ *Auttos tocantes*, folios 45, 55, 57, 60-62, 85, 86, 87. The standard authority on this episode is Hackett, "The Retreat of the Spaniards from New Mexico in 1680, and the Beginnings of El Paso," in *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, vol. XVI, 137-168, 258-276.

² *Carta de Ayeta*, in *Doc. Hist. Nuevo Mexico*, vol. 1, p. 564. (MS in Bancroft Collection).

Agramontes' letter reached Otermín, Luis Granillo presented the governor with a petition from the people congregated at La Salineta asking permission to settle near the confluence of Guadalupe, on the opposite bank of the river, where pasturage and wood were plentiful and where the people would be able to build huts to protect themselves from the cold.³ On October 6, Otermín announced his intention of making the change; and by October 9, it had probably been effected, for on that date he drew up an *auto* summarizing the events of the revolt and headed it "*plaza de armas*," place of the "Rio del Norte de la Toma."⁴

The disposition of the troops and the people is given in a letter of Ayeta written to the commissary general of his order on December 20. Ayeta writes:

All the army remains on the same Rio del Norte divided into three divisions, at a distance of two leagues from each other: the governor and the cabildo in that of San Lorenzo (a name which was given in memory of the destruction having been on the day which the church celebrates for him) and with His Lordship five religious; he is also building huts in regular form, but all are dwelling in the house of poles and branches which he made with his hands; . . . the second is the Real de San Pedro de Alcántara where four other religious remain; the third is the Real del Santísimo Sacramento, where the Father Preacher Fray Alvaro de Zavaleta remains as prelate with other religious; the remainder of my religious stay in the convent of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, singing the chorus for the Divine Goodness as if in San Francisco of Mexico, or in Divine Providence.⁵

These arrangements were probably complete by October 20, for on that date Otermín wrote to the viceroy, saying: "I am bivouacked and fortified on this Rio del Norte, until the order of Your Excellency may come concerning what ought to be done."⁶

³ Hackett, "Retreat of the Spaniards," 275-276; Letter of Agramontes, September 16, 1680, *Autos tocantes*, folio 81; opinion of Mendoza, October 2, 1680, *ibid.*, ff. 64-65; *Auto* of Otermín, October 5, 1680, *ibid.*, f. 77.

⁴ *Auto* of Otermín, October 6, 1680, *Autos tocantes*, folio 85; *ibid.*, ff. 86-87.

⁵ *Carta de Ayeta*, December 20, 1680, *Doc. Hist. Nuevo Mexico*, vol. 1, pp. 552-53. (MS in Bancroft Collection.)

⁶ *Autos tocantes*, folio 102.

2. *Provision for a Presidio at El Paso.*—No later than October 12, Otermín held a council of war for the purpose of determining the immediate needs of the occasion. Though the discussions looked primarily to the reconquest of New Mexico, they had an important bearing on the future development of El Paso. It is significant that the first two items in the long list of things needed relate to settlers and soldiers: "First, at the very least, two hundred paid settlers; item, fifty soldiers for a presidio, current wages."⁷ The need of a presidio was brought forward again by Otermín in a letter of October 20. He said:

It being known that this conversion of this pueblo, which exceeds two thousand souls, would be lost, as well as the other new conversions of San Francisco Toma, and Nuestra Señor de la Soledad de los Janos—which have been assembling and reconciling and are in good condition—and likewise the conversion of Casas Grandes, Carretas, and others in those environs which are asking permission to settle in the same neighborhood of Casas Grandes with those of their territory, and communication between Parral and Sonora; because it is certain, sir, that New Mexico lost, they will not dare to remain here or in the said parts without thirty or forty soldiers at least as support.⁸

On January 7, 1681, when the fiscal made his report on the *autos* and other communications submitted by Otermín, he recommended the establishment of a presidio of fifty paid soldiers among the three new conversions at El Paso; he based his recommendation on the royal *cédulas* for settlements and new conversions, which provided for paid garrisons on all frontiers. He further advised that the place chosen for the congregation of the Spaniards should be carefully selected, because the calamities of New Mexico had arisen partly from the fact that the settlements were scattered thirty or forty leagues apart. The presidio and settlement so made would be regarded as the seat of jurisdiction and the head of New Mexico.⁹

⁷ *Instrucción y Norma*, in *Autos tocantes*, folio 104; see also opinion of Mendoza, October 2, 1680, *ibid.*, ff. 64–65; opinion of the cabildo, October 3, 1680, *ibid.*, ff. 73–75.

⁸ *Carta de Otermín*, in *Autos tocantes*, folio 101.

⁹ *Dictamen Fiscal*, January 7, 1681, *ibid.*, folio 90.

Before a junta general acted on the recommendations of the fiscal, Father Ayeta submitted his report and other documents bearing on New Mexican affairs. Because of these additional reports having been brought forward, a junta general of January 10 turned the entire matter over to a committee for consideration. This committee's report called for one hundred and fifty settlers at a stipend of two hundred and fifty pesos each, and for fifty soldiers at three hundred and fifteen pesos each. In addition there was to be an armorer.¹⁰

The junta general of January 17 resolved that for the protection of the people at El Paso, and to prevent the enemy from passing to Sonora and Parral, a presidio should be formed with fifty men at a yearly salary of three hundred and fifteen pesos each, paid as the soldiers of the presidio of Sinaloa; that there should be an armorer without additional pay whose duty it would be to mend the arms; that none of the soldiers should be of those who came from New Mexico and were congregated at El Paso but of those New Mexican citizens who in former years had deserted to Parral, Sonora, and their environs, in default of whom the governor might enlist other persons of the latter places; that after the reconquest of New Mexico the presidio might be removed to the place which appeared most convenient to the viceroy; and that the soldiers of the presidio must not be employed in the expedition planned for the reconquest of New Mexico.¹¹

The resolution of the junta general was doubtless the result of a royal *cédula* of June 25, 1680, which approved of an additional presidio of fifty soldiers for New Mexico, armed and paid as were the soldiers of the presidio of Sinaloa—a *cédula* issued in response to a petition of Fray Francisco de Ayeta, dated May 28, 1679, and one of the viceroy Don Fray Payo de Ribera, dated June 19, 1679.¹² The location of the presidio was left to

¹⁰ Action of the junta general, January 10, 1681, *Auttos tocantes*, folio 110; report of the committee, *ibid.*, ff. 111–112.

¹¹ Proceedings of the junta general, January 17, 1681, *ibid.*, folios 114–115.

¹² Royal *Cédula*, June 25, 1680, *ibid.*, folio 94.

the discretion of the viceroy, Conde de Paredes, Marqués de la Laguna.

In accordance with the royal orders and the action of the junta general, on September 18, 1681, Governor Otermín ordered a muster of all the soldiers and citizens of El Paso, preparatory to enlisting the soldiers and settlers for the projected presidio and for the expedition planned for the reconquest of New Mexico. Between September 23 and 30 he enrolled the fifty soldiers and the armorer for the presidio; and on October 8 he issued a proclamation in which he declared that he had been unable to comply with that portion of the royal order which required these men to be chosen from those citizens of New Mexico who had in former times deserted to Parral, Sonora, and other neighboring places, since only one of those men had returned to El Paso. Otermín issued orders forbidding the soldiers to leave El Paso during his absence or to gamble with military equipment. It seems that the men composing the presidio were to be stationed at the Plaza de Armas de San Lorenzo, though the documents are not quite clear on that point.^{12a}

3. *More Permanent Organization, 1682.*—In the autumn of 1681 Otermín made an expedition to New Mexico for the purpose of subduing the revolted Indians and re-establishing Spanish

^{12a} Order for a general muster, September 8, 1681; list of soldiers and settlers for the projected presidio, September 23–30; Otermín, Bando, October 8–23; all these documents are contained in a bundle of manuscripts connected with Governor Antonio de Otermín's attempted reconquest of New Mexico, and dated September 2–November 10. (Santa Fé Archives in Library of Congress.) The following is a list of the soldiers enlisted by Governor Otermín between September 23 and September 30, 1681, for the presidio which the king had ordered established at El Paso. The names of the men are accompanied by personal descriptions: Pedro de Reneros Posada, 30 years of age; Diego de Ynojós, 24; Simon de Molina, 33; Josephe Lopez, 41 (?); Don Josephe de Ugarte, 20; Alférez Francisco Luzero, armorer, 23; Antonio Ramires, 36; Xptobal de Truxillo, 30; Sarjento Mayor Sebastian de Herrera, 44; Sarjento Mayor Domingo Lopez, 42; Jusephe Lopez de Ocanto (or de Olanto), 19; Captain Francisco Xavier, 25; Sebastian de Herrera, 16; Joseph Laureano Barela de Losada (?), 20; Bartolome de Truxillo, 18; Francisco Garcia, 42; Josephe Sanchez Alejandro, 21; Sarjento Mayor Bartolome Gomez Robledo, 42; Bartolome Gomez Robledo el Mozo, 20; Antonio Gomes, son of Maestre de Campo Francisco Gomez Robledo, age not given; Juan Luis de Casares, 24; Domingo Lujan, 26; Andres Hurtado, 20; Francisco Hurtado, 17; Tomas de Arbisu, 18; Alonso Rodriguez, 42; Juan de Arbisu, age not given; Pedro de Avalos, 24; Xptoal Barela de Losada, 19; Don Juan

control in the lost province. Achieving only negative results, he withdrew toward El Paso in January, 1682, bringing with him a body of loyal Indians from the pueblo of Isleta. When Otermín reached Estero Largo, forty leagues above El Paso, he found that of the three hundred and eighty-five Indians who had set out with him from Isleta, only three hundred and five remained.¹³ These Indians, added to those who had retreated with him in 1680, must have made a fairly large element of foreign Indian population at El Paso, and a sufficient number to complicate the situation there, which was already regarded as serious as early as October 16, 1680.¹⁴ Recognizing the need of a settled place of residence for the Indian population and more satisfactory quarters for the Spanish refugees, Otermín took steps immediately to secure those ends.

While still encamped at Estero Largo, Otermín wrote to the viceroy giving him a full account of the expedition. In this letter, dated February 11, 1682, among other things, he said: "Those [Indians] I bring here with the purpose of settling them where it may be convenient, with others of their nation who came out the other time, because it was impossible to maintain and preserve them in their pueblo inland; I also set out with the purpose of assembling and reducing the Spaniards to two or three settlements, where it should seem more convenient, as also the presidio, in order that they may plant [crops], since on this depends their subsistence."¹⁵ Writing from the same place and on the same day, Father Ayeta informed the viceroy of Otermín's

de Chaez, 18; Vezindo (Vicente) Lopez Penuelas, 20; Diego de Labra (?), 23; Alferez Juan de Carigos (?), 24; Luis de Caravajal, 22; Xptoval Holguin, 25; Salvador Guillen, 33; Diego Lopez, 26; Antonio Gutierrez de Figueroa, 19; Antonio Ramires, 36; Juan Griego, 20; Agustin Griego, 24; Juan de Zuaco, 25; Rafael Tellez Xiron, 21; Felipe Vravo (Bravo), 36; Grausel Ramos, 30; Diego Luzero, 19; Salvador Duran, 31; Josephe Dominguez de Mendoza, 24; Gregorio Conos de la Parra (?), 40; Josephe de Madrid, 22; Agustin Laef (?), 23.

¹³ Petition of the cabildo, *Autos sobre los Socorros*, folio 32; *Auto de Determinación de Pareseres de Junta*, in *Autos Pertenecientes*, folio 93; *Auto de Remission*, *ibid.*, ff. 101-102; and *Dictamen Fiscal*, *ibid.*, ff. 114-115; letter of Otermín, *ibid.*, folio 104.

¹⁴ Petition of the cabildo, October 16, 1680, *Autos tocantes*, folio 98.

¹⁵ Letter of Otermín, February 11, 1682, *Autos Pertenecientes*, folio 105; *Dictamen Fiscal*, *ibid.*, f. 119.

intention to settle the Spaniards and Indians "in union" and in sufficient number to resist the enemy, with the help of the presidio; and of his intention to make of the people citizens and not unsettled herdsmen, for neither the church nor the king had any use for the latter. As this mode of settlement differed from the form used in New Mexico, Ayeta thought the viceroy would have to make special provision for it. Ayeta, moreover, disapproved the close union of the two people, because of the epidemic among the Indians. His letter seems to have reached the court of Mexico before Otermín's letter, for it was given to the fiscal on April 13. The fiscal recommended that the refugees settle in the places which the governor found most convenient, separating the Indians from the Spaniards, but disposing the sites so that all would be under the protection of the presidio and able to defend themselves against the enemy. In this way the presidio would serve as a bulwark for the provinces of Sonora and La Vizeaya, and would be more valuable than as erected in the villa of Santa Fé, where, because of the great distances, the intervening Apache enemy, and the fact that the fort faced the enemy on all sides, its security was threatened, aid was difficult, and the congregations and missionaries were left exposed to such lamentable experiences as the revolt of 1680.¹⁶

It was not until June 25 that the fiscal gave his opinion of Otermín's recommendations. In the main points his reply was the same as that given to Ayeta's letter. He said Otermín's plan was convenient, because the three loyal conversions of Guadalupe, San Francisco, and La Soledad, and the loyal Indians who had retreated from New Mexico, all deserved protection. With these Indians it would be possible to form one or two settlements, at a little distance from each other, but under the shelter of a presidio of fifty men, centrally located. For better defense and an increase in the number of Spaniards at El Paso, the fiscal favored excluding from the presidio the men already

¹⁶ Letter of Ayeta, February 11, 1682, *Expediente No. 2*, p. 37; *Dicta men Fiscal*, undated, *ibid.*, pp. 38-39 (a fragment).

settled at El Paso and enlisting soldiers from Parral, Sonora, and other places. To avoid dissatisfaction he favored imposing upon the governor, or the person having these arrangements in charge, grave punishment for failure to comply with the orders. To avoid disputes over animals and oppression of the Indians, he repeated the necessity of separating the Indians from the Spaniards.¹⁷

The action taken by the junta general with reference to the above recommendations of the fiscal is gathered from secondary sources, as the document itself is missing from the collections now available. From these secondary sources, it is learned that the junta general gave its decision on July 28. It provided that the soldiers of the presidio should be enlisted in Zacatecas, and not in Parral or Sonora, as the fiscal advised; and that they should receive three hundred and fifteen pesos each per year, as did the soldiers of Sinaloa. The action of this junta general, which was based on the royal *cédula* of 1682, was reported to the king in a letter dated December 22, 1682. Accordingly, on September 4, 1683, the king issued another *cédula* confirming the action of the junta general of July 28, 1682.¹⁸

Whether Otermín awaited orders from the superior government or put into immediate execution his plan of settlement, is not clear from the documents now available.¹⁹ Before locating the Spaniards and Indians, however, he took with him several members of the cabildo and made a careful examination of both banks of the Río del Norte, from Estero Largo to La Toma, the conversion of the Sumas. He found no place that appeared more suitable for settlement than San Lorenzo, which was chosen, not because of its positive fitness, but because it appeared possible to maintain the Spaniards there until the orders of the viceroy

¹⁷ *Dictamen Fiscal*, in *Autos Pertenecientes*, folio 119.

¹⁸ *New Mexico Cédulas* (No. 167), No. 7, folios 11-14 (MS in Bancroft Collection); opinion of the fiscal, *Expediente No. 2*, p. 26.

¹⁹ In the collections of documents used in preparing this paper there appear only one or two signed by Otermín between February 11, 1682, and August, 1683, at which time Cruzate assumed the government; and none of these relate to Otermín's disposition of the people at El Paso.

should arrive.²⁰ The Spaniards, therefore, were placed in San Lorenzo, a league and a half from the mission San Francisco de los Sumas²¹ and about twelve leagues from El Paso.²² The Indians were settled in three pueblos. According to Escalante their location was as follows: "two leagues, [or] more below Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe del Paso, with Piros and Tompiros Indians, the pueblo of Senecú; a league and a half toward the east, with Tihuas Indians, the pueblo of Corpus Christi de la Isleta; twelve leagues from El Paso, and seven and a half from Isleta, following the same Río del Norte, with Piros Indians, a few Thanos, and some more Gemex, the third pueblo, with the appellation of Nuestra Señora del Socorro."²³ The founding of the presidio, in accordance with the recent ruling, was probably left for execution to Otermín's successor, Don Jironza Petríz de Cruzate.

²⁰ The cabildo to the viceroy, July 6, 1684, *Autos sobre los Socorros*, folio 149; letter of the cabildo, September 27, 1685, *ibid.*, f. 145; the cabildo to Cruzate, September 20, 1684, *ibid.*, f. 36; *Auto* of Cruzate, *ibid.*, ff. 34-35.

²¹ Vetancurt, *Crónica* (Mex. 1697), Part I, chap. V, sec. 27, p. 98.

²² *Auto* of Otermín, in *Autos sobre los Socorros*, folio 37.

²³ Escalante, *Carta de 1776*, pp. 120-121, in *Doc. para la Historia de Mexico, Tercera serie* (Mex. 1856); see also Bonilla, *Apuntes sobre el Nuevo Mexico*, in *New Mexico Cédulas*, folio 1 (MSS in Bancroft Collection).

IV. THE FOUNDING OF THE PRESIDIO AND THE REORGANIZATION OF THE SETTLEMENTS, 1683

1. *Equipment for the Presidio*.—In 1683 a change of governors occurred in New Mexico, probably occasioned by Otermín's request, made on February 11, 1682, for a leave of absence to go to Parral for medical attention. As the fiscal disapproved of granting the leave of absence on account of the unsettled conditions at El Paso, it is probable that the junta general of July 28 recommended the appointment of Don Jironza Petriz de Cruzate to relieve Otermín, for a royal *cédula* was issued in 1682 approving the appointment of Cruzate as governor of New Mexico.¹ The founding of the presidio and the reorganization of the settlements at El Paso followed the change of executives.

It has been stated before that the junta general of July 28, 1682, provided for a presidio of fifty soldiers to be enlisted at Zacatecas at a salary of three hundred and fifteen pesos a year each, according to the custom in Sinaloa.² As soon as Cruzate was named for the office of governor, he began immediately to make plans for putting the order of the junta general into execution. On August 26, he presented the viceroy with a petition asking for three years' salary in advance, urging as his reason the necessity of making a long journey to enlist the soldiers, and his wish to take a force of eight or ten men to New Mexico at his own expense. The viceroy granted him the two years' pay in advance.³

¹ The writer has already indicated that the document containing the resolution of the junta general of July 28, 1682, is a fragment. Moreover, the writer has not seen the *cédula* mentioned above, the title of which is listed in Bandelier's collection of New Mexican documents in the *Report of U. S. Commission to the Columbian Historical Exposition at Madrid, 1892-93*. in *House Exec. Doc., 3rd Sess., 53rd Congress, 1894-95*, vol. 31, p. 318.

² *Dictamen Fiscal*, in *Expediente No. 2*, pp. 38-39.

³ Petition of Cruzate, in *Expediente No. 2*, p. 6; the viceroy to the fiscal, *ibid.*, p. 6; opinion of the fiscal, *ibid.*, p. 6; the viceroy to the royal officials, *ibid.*, p. 6; opinion of the royal officials, *ibid.*, pp. 6-7; decree of the viceroy, *ibid.*, p. 7.

Having provided for himself, Cruzate devoted his energies to securing the equipment of his men. Between August, 1682, and March, 1683, a vigorous correspondence took place between Cruzate and the government officers.⁴ The debate centered around the number of carbines needed; the amount of powder and balls; the money for building a fort, or stronghold; the place and manner of paying the soldiers; the grant of carts for carrying freight; and a leader to conduct the soldiers to New Mexico. At least three sets of petitions were filed by Cruzate. The viceroy confirmed the fiscal's reply to the first series on September 15, 1682.⁵ Some of the grants of supplies seemed insufficient to Cruzate, and he asked for a reconsideration. His petition was placed before the junta general for further examination,⁶ but before the junta general met, a change of fiscals occurred and Cruzate seized the opportunity to open a second series of petitions. The new fiscal sustained the opinion of his predecessor in all things excepting the place of paying the soldiers; he favored the use of the treasury at Zacatecas rather than that of Durango.⁷ Cruzate was still dissatisfied with the equipment given him. When Father Ayeta appeared in the City of Mexico in January, 1683, Cruzate made use of his intimate knowledge of New Mexican affairs to secure the equipment he wanted. The fiscal interviewed Ayeta, and the junta general eventually met on January 27, 1683, and passed finally on all petitions presented by Cruzate, ordering all in the light of the information furnished by Ayeta.⁸

Cruzate was given fifty mounted soldiers and fifty carbines for the soldiers; two carbines apiece was the usual grant, but the authorities thought the deficiency could be supplied out of the hundred carbines which Ayeta took to El Paso in 1681. The customary grant of one hundred pesos for the purchase of lead was sustained, and the customary grant of ten quintals of

⁴ *Expediente No. 2*, pp. 1-43.

⁵ Petition of Cruzate, *Expediente No. 2*, p. 8; the viceroy to the fiscal, *ibid.*, p. 8; opinion of the fiscal, *ibid.*, pp. 8-9; the viceroy to the royal officers, *ibid.*, p. 9; opinion of the royal officers, *ibid.*, p. 10; decree of the viceroy, *ibid.*, p. 10.

⁶ *Expediente No. 2*, pp. 14-17.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 18-25.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 28-34.

powder was increased to twelve quintals, with the provision that it should be bought of the government contractor at the price given the king. A grant of two thousand pesos was made for building a stronghold for the lodging of the civil and military organizations; the grant specified that the stronghold should be built of adobe by paid Indian labor, and that the progress and cost of the structure should be reported to the royal tribunal. The three hundred and fifteen pesos allowed each soldier yearly was ordered paid from the treasury of Zacatecas, instead of Durango, in the form practiced in the villas of Cerralvo and Cadereita; advance pay of three pesos a day, to be deducted from the salary of 1684, was granted each soldier in addition to the two months' pay in advance given at the time of enlistment and of setting out to New Mexico.⁹ A decree of the viceroy of September 15, 1682, ordered the money for the soldiers paid to the governor, or to the chief legally in charge of the presidio, upon receipt from that officer of a certified list containing the names of all the soldiers actually present in the presidio during the year, with a statement of their arms and horses, the numbers absent, fugitive, sick, or dead, and the names of the substitutes enlisted, with the date of their enlistment.¹⁰ The three carts asked for in place of the customary grant of eight hundred pesos for freightage were withheld on the ground that they had not been given since 1674; but a number of carts were given to the religious in which to take their supplies to New Mexico.¹¹

In February Cruzate petitioned for a *cabo comisario* and an *apostentador* to conduct his soldiers to New Mexico, and asked that Miguel de Salazar y Guzmán and Manuel Saenz de Cuacocas be appointed to those positions at the usual pay. A junta general of March 16 ordered that the viceroy should name a *cabo comisario* at a salary of two ducats a day above the pay of a private soldier, the pay to begin on the day of taking command of the soldiers and to end when the soldiers were delivered at El Paso.¹²

⁹ Action of the junta general, *Expediente No. 2*, pp. 33-36.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 8-10.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 1-5, 14-15, and 33-36.

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 40-43.

2. *The Founding of the Presidio.*—As soon as Cruzate reached El Paso, about the thirtieth of August, 1683,¹³ he made a search for a suitable place to locate the presidio and the villa. Taking with him two members of the cabildo, the *regidor* and *procurador general*, Alonso del Río, Captain Ygnacio Vaca, Alcalde Juan Lucero de Godoy, Maestre de Campo Francisco Gómez Robledo, Sargento Mayor Lorenzo de Madrid, and some citizens, he searched both banks of the Río del Norte for a distance of sixteen leagues and examined the region immediately around Pueblo del Paso, but found no place suitable for settlement; some parts were submerged or muddy from the freshets, and others were exceedingly high and dry.¹⁴ He finally placed the presidio, which was called Nuestra Señora del Pilar y el Glorioso San José, about seven leagues from the pueblo of El Paso, and midway between that place and the Real de San Lorenzo.¹⁵

As Cruzate brought to El Paso only twenty of the fifty soldiers he was required to enlist, he was compelled to complete the quota by enlisting some strangers found at El Paso and some of Otermín's veterans.¹⁶ He appointed the officers of the presidio and distributed among the soldiers the fifty carbines which the government had given him, and four boxes which he had brought at his own expense.¹⁷ Writing to the viceroy on October 30, 1683, Cruzate reported that he had only fifty soldiers in the presidio, and that he was very short of Spaniards,¹⁸ from which statement it appears that the male population of El Paso must have been scant. However, the muster roll submitted May 30, 1684—doubtless the annual report required before paying the soldiers their wages—showed a total of fifty-six, including the

¹³ Certification of the cabildo, *Autos sobre los Socorros*, folio 135; petition of the cabildo, *ibid.*, f. 145.

¹⁴ Petition of the cabildo, *ibid.*, folio 20; *Auto* of Cruzate, *ibid.*, ff. 34-35; petition of the cabildo, *ibid.*, f. 36; *Auto* of Cruzate, *ibid.*, f. 37.

¹⁵ Petition of the cabildo, *ibid.*, folio 20.

¹⁶ Certification of the cabildo, *ibid.*, folio 135; petition of the cabildo, September 27, 1685, *ibid.*, f. 146; petition of the cabildo, July 6, 1684, *ibid.*, ff. 149-50.

¹⁷ Letter of Cruzate, *Viage*, p. 80; *Dictamen Fiscal*, in *Viage*, p. 83.

¹⁸ Letter of Cruzate, *Expediente No. 2*, p. 52.

officers, forty foreigners, and sixteen veterans of New Mexico. The sixteen veterans were substitutes for six fugitives, eight ill, and two absent with permission. Roque Madrid, a veteran of New Mexico, was named in the muster roll as the captain of the presidio.¹⁹

3. *Reorganization of the Settlements*.—At the same time that Cruzate located the presidio, he made an effort to change the site of the villa of Santa Fé from San Lorenzo to a place about one league from the pueblo of El Paso. He hoped by this change to improve the condition of the people by enabling them to make use of the canal in irrigating their crops. He promised to enlarge the canal, and actually cut a quantity of timber for use in constructing the buildings on the new site, but the citizens thought the place selected inconvenient and without good pasturage or wood. Cruzate, therefore, let the matter drop.²⁰

Although Cruzate did not change the site of San Lorenzo, a reorganization of both the Indian and the Spanish settlements took place under the direction of Fray Nicolás López, who probably accompanied the new governor to El Paso. López gave an account of his work in a representation to the viceroy made in June, 1685. His first care on reaching El Paso, he said, was the betterment of the Spanish and the Indian settlers; he put the villages in good condition and added others at suitable distances, conforming his arrangements to the royal ordinances which provided for the separation of the Indians from the Spaniards.²¹ He formed the "settlement (*poblazón*) of the pueblo of Socorro of Piros Indians; that of San Francisco of Sumas Indians; that of the pueblo of Sacramento of Tiguas Indians; that of the pueblo of San Antonio de Senecú of Piros and Tompiros Indians; the new conversion of Santa Getrudis of Sumas Indians; the conversion of La Soledad of Janos Indians; the settlement of San Lorenzo of Spaniards; that of San Pedro

¹⁹ Muster roll, *Autos sobre los Socorros*, folios 57–58.

²⁰ Petition of the cabildo, October 27, 1684, *ibid.*, folio 20; *Auto* of Cruzate, *ibid.*, ff. 34–35; *Auto* of Cruzate, *ibid.*, f. 38; petition of the cabildo, September 30, 1684, *ibid.*, f. 41.

²¹ This was also in accordance with the recommendation of the fiscal, June 25, 1682. See *Autos Pertenecientes*, folio 119.

de Alcántara, that of Señor San José, and that of the old pueblo of Isleta—these [last] four of Spanish citizens (*vecinos*).’’²²

The conversions of San Francisco de los Sumas and La Soledad de los Janos will be recognized as two of the three old settlements already established in the El Paso district before 1680. The pueblos of Socorro and San Antonio de Senecú were probably the same that Otermín settled in 1682. Of the pueblo of Socorro, Escalante, writing a century later, says: “In the year 1683 the Indians of this pueblo attempted to take the life of their minister, Father Fray Antonio Guerra, and one or two families of Spaniards who were there, which crime they did not accomplish, because the Zumas who were congregated with them discovered them. The principal movers fled to New Mexico, and those who remained went, under order of the governor, to another place much nearer to the pueblo of Isleta, where the pueblo is today, which was the second time they established it with the name of Socorro.’’²³ The Tigua pueblo of Sacramento appears to have been a new mission settled on the site of the Real del Santísimo Sacramento, one of the camps located by Otermín in 1680. The “new conversion of Santa Getrudis, of Sumas Indians” was founded by López at a place called El Ojito, twelve leagues from Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe del Paso.²⁴ The following account of Santa Getrudis was given by Escalante: “In the year cited of ’83, on October 24, the first mission of Zumas Indians was established eight leagues to the south of the pueblo of El Paso, in the place which they now call Ojito de Samalayuca. This mission exists no longer, because the following year of ’84 they revolted with the Manso Christians and infidels, with the Janos, and other Sumas; and they apostatized.’’²⁵ López does

²² *Representación* of López, *Autos sobre los Socorros*, folio 84. Quoted by Bolton in *The Texas Hist. Assn. Quarterly*, vol. 12, p. 149.

²³ Escalante, *Carta de 1778*, pp. 120–121, in *Doc. para la Historia de Mexico, Tercera Serie* (Mex. 1856).

²⁴ Petition of the cabildo, July 6, 1684, *Autos sobre los Socorros*, folio 149; certification of Cruzate, October 4, 1684, *ibid.*, f. 80; petition of the cabildo, September 27, 1685, *ibid.*, f. 145; letter of Cruzate, July 25, 1684, *Expediente No. 2*, p. 46.

²⁵ Escalante, *Carta de 1778*, pp. 120–121, in *Doc. para la Historia de Mexico, Tercera Serie* (Mex. 1856).

not mention Corpus Christi de Isleta among his Indian settlements; it is probable that López's "old pueblo of La Isleta" of Spaniards was formed on the site of Otermín's Indian pueblo of that name,²⁶ or adjoining the Indian pueblo, though in the latter case it seems that López would have included the Indian pueblo in his list. San Lorenzo and San Pedro de Alcántara were probably on the same sites chosen by Otermín in 1680. The pueblo of Señor San José was probably a new Spanish settlement placed on the site of the presidio.²⁷

4. *The Establishment of Missions at La Junta de los Ríos.*—After López had completed his arrangement of the settlements at El Paso, he undertook a missionary journey to La Junta, one hundred leagues or more below El Paso, at the junction of the Conchos River with the Río del Norte, and to the Jumano country. His work at La Junta was the natural sequence of earlier and similarly ineffectual efforts to Christianize the Julime Indians, who dwelt at that place. No less a personage than Fray García de San Francisco, the founder of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe del Paso, had visited the pueblos, said mass, and returned to El Paso, promising to come again. His visit, which probably antedated 1671,²⁸ was followed by that of another religious of his own order, named Fray Juan de Sumesta, who visited the first pueblo only, and soon returned to El Paso.²⁹

Another account of an effort to Christianize the Indians of La Junta, in the details of which there are some discrepancies, is recorded by Menchero, an eighteenth century chronicler of

²⁶ The cabildo informed Cruzate that the natives of the pueblo of La Isleta were unable to inhabit it. See the petition of the cabildo, September 30, 1684, *Autos sobre los Socorros*, folio 41.

²⁷ Bonilla mentions San Antonio, Senecú, Nuestra Señora del Socorro, San Lorenzo del Realito, and Corpus Cristi as the four missions formed for the Indians who moved out from their missions of San Agustín de la Isleta, Socorro, and Senecú, and retired with the Spaniards to El Paso. See Bonilla, *Apuntes sobre el Nuevo Mexico*, in *New Mexico Cédulas*, folio 1.

²⁸ See page 309. A brief account of the missions at La Junta is given by Bolton in his "Spanish Occupation of Texas," pp. 19-20, and in his "Jumano Indians in Texas, 1650-1771," pp. 72-73.

²⁹ Mendoza, *Segunda Representación*, June 13, 1684, in *Viage*, p. 49.

New Mexican affairs. According to this writer, the La Junta missions had their beginnings in 1670, when two religious from New Mexico appeared at the pueblos and preached the gospel to a great number of heathen Indians, remaining among them two years. A dispute arising among the natives over the question of whether or not they should embrace the faith, they determined to expel the friars from their lands, naked and without food or guide for their journey home. The rejected priests set out for Parral. Meanwhile the governor of Parral received news of their plight and set forth with some people to rescue them. He met them on the road, dying of cold and hunger, succored them, and sent them in safety to New Mexico.³⁰ There is a probability that this is a confused account of López's visit to La Junta in 1683, to be recounted later. Escalante tells the story of a similar treatment having been meted out to the two priests left at La Junta by Father López; but according to the information furnished by López, the Christian Indians conducted the priests to Parral in safety. The Julime Indians, moreover, told Mendoza in 1684 that no Spaniards or religious had been among them since Fray Sumesta's withdrawal.³¹

In 1683 several deputations of Indians from La Junta and from the Jumano tribes on the Colorado River appeared at El Paso, asking for seculars and religious to settle and convert their lands. The last of these deputations appeared after López's arrival at El Paso. López became deeply interested in this new field for religious work, and resorted to a device to test the sincerity of the petitioners. He told them it was very inconvenient to say mass without a church for the purpose. Not daunted by this new obstacle placed in the way of their desires, the leaders took the measurements of the church at El Paso and dispatched them to La Junta by couriers with an order to have a church built. Within twenty days, a messenger returned, accompanied

³⁰ Menchero, *Ynforme*, undated, in *Doc. Hist. N. Mex.*, vol. 2, pp. 746-749; Villa Señor, *Theatro Americana* (Mexico, 1746), vol. 2, pp. 411-422.

³¹ Escalante, *Carta de 1778*, in *Doc. para la Hist. Mex., Tercera Serie*, pp. 121-122 (Mex., 1856); López, *Representación*, in *Viage*, p. 64; Mendoza, *Segunda Representación*, June 12, 1684, *ibid.*, p. 49.

by more than sixty men and women, to report that the natives at La Junta were busy building two churches.³²

Convinced of the sincerity of the Indians, Father López determined to go to La Junta. Taking two priests, Fathers Acevedo and Zavaleta, he set out on foot, in company with the Indians. After thirteen days of arduous travel, following the course of the Río del Norte and passing many Suma settlements, he arrived at his destination. There he found a good-sized church, built of reeds, with an altar the size of that in the church at El Paso. Passing six leagues beyond, he found another church, larger and more carefully made, and a dwelling for the priests. López halted there, and began catechizing the adults and baptizing the infants. He found among them a number of Christians who had been baptized at Parral. While López was at work there, seven other nations built churches for the purpose of having him say mass for them, and many other nations petitioned him for religious. He endeavored to retain the friendship of all these tribes by promising to bring them priests as soon as he could get them from Mexico.

When Father López had the natives fairly well under administration, and had helped them plant crops of maize, wheat, beans, pumpkins, melons, watermelons and tobacco, he made a report of his work to Cruzate, and asked him to send him sixty men. In the meantime Cruzate had commissioned Maestre de Campo Juan Domínguez de Mendoza to make a journey to the eastern Jumano country. Mendoza set out from El Paso on December 15, and reached La Junta on the twenty-ninth. With Mendoza as escort, López continued his journey to the Jumano country. Leaving Father Acevedo in charge of the new missions, he took with him Father Zavaleta and set out for the east on January 1. As the story of the visit to the Jumano country does not bear directly on El Paso history, attention will be devoted to the work of Father Acevedo, during Father López's absence.

³² Otermín, *Ynforme*, August 11, 1683, *Expediente No. 2*, p. 60 ff.; report of Juan Sabeata, October 20, 1683, *Viage*, pp. 5-10; *Representación* of López, *ibid.*, pp. 60-61.

Missionary work at La Junta progressed satisfactorily under the direction of Acevedo. More than five hundred men, women and children accepted Christianity, and many men and women consented to be married according to the rites of the church. All of the churches were completed. The Indians seemed well pleased with their share in the work, and on the return of López begged him to ask Acevedo whether they had taken good care of him and provided him with meat and wheat. On the twelfth of June, when López and Mendoza were about to return to El Paso, the chiefs of the nations and about five hundred people petitioned him for six more religious to assist Acevedo in his work, saying that their pueblos were so scattered that one priest could not minister to them all. López agreed to leave Father Zavaleta with Acevedo, and promised to send additional priests as soon as he could bring them from Mexico.³³ What occurred at La Junta subsequently will appear in the next chapter.

³³ *Representación* of López, in *Viage*, pp. 61-62; *Diario, ibid.*, pp. 11-19, 55-56, 63-64, and 93.

V. THE REVOLT OF THE MANSOS AND THEIR NEIGHBORS

1. *Indian Unrest and the Outbreak of the Revolt.*—When, in 1683, the presidio was founded, and both the Indian and the Spanish pueblos were rearranged by Cruzate and López, the settlements at El Paso seemed assured in the places assigned them. But no such permanency resulted, for there occurred in the spring of 1684 a general revolt of the nations in and near El Paso which made a more compact organization of the settlements imperative and caused the abandonment of the missions at La Junta.

At the time when the Spaniards took up their residence at El Paso in 1680, they felt a certain insecurity from the neighboring Indians, for rumors were afloat while the refugees were still at La Salineta that the Indians of the El Paso missions and those of Sonora and other neighboring places were in a general convocation, and that the Mansos would kill all the Spaniards who might escape the Indians of the interior.¹ The unrest seems to have been general, for Señor Agramontes, of San Juan Bautista, wrote Otermín that the Janos, Yummas [Yumas?], and other neighboring tribes were all of one temper and likely to be influenced by the Indians of New Mexico.² Otermín, moreover, wrote the viceroy that it was rumored in the conversion of Guadalupe that the Sonora Indians were restless, and that the Mansos and Sumas were not secure from their influence.³ The alcaldes and regidores, also, in an *auto* of October 3, mentioned the rumor of a convocation of Sonora and El Paso Indians.⁴ On October 16

¹ Opinion of the field marshals, etc., *Auttos tocantes*, folios 64-65; opinion of the ayuntamiento, *Auttos tocantes*, f. 74; letter of Ayeta, August 31, 1680, *Doc. Hist. Nuevo Mex.*, vol. 1, p. 564.

² Letter of Agramontes, September 16, 1680, *Auttos tocantes*, folio 81.

³ *Auto* of Otermín, October 2, 1680, *ibid.*, folio 64.

⁴ *Auto* of alcaldes and regidores, October 3, 1680, *ibid.*, folio 74.

the cabildo informed the governor that the Indians of El Paso were living without much subjection, and advised him not to permit them to go to Nueva Vizcaya, especially the Piros and those of the conversion of Guadalupe.⁵ On October 20, Otermín reported that three Indians had been arrested at Casas Grandes on suspicion of plotting a revolt.⁶ In December Father Ayeta mentioned a threatened revolt in Nueva Vizcaya, and said the danger was heightened by the fact that the Indians were united.⁷

The influence of the New Mexican rebels was not the sole inciting cause of this general Indian unrest. The Apaches, long-standing enemies of the Spaniards, were constantly undermining Spanish influence over the more tractable tribes. Even before the New Mexican revolt they had forced the Indians of Senecú, Socorro, Alamillo, and Sevilleta, to abandon their pueblos.⁸ The Apaches, moreover, endeavored repeatedly to draw the Christian Indians into their alliance and frequently succeeded. Only the incessant attacks of the Spaniards prevented their destroying the kingdom.⁹ On January 30, 1682, Fray Nicolás Hurtado, the custodian, reported that during that month the Apaches had carried off two hundred horses (*bestias*) from the Real de San Lorenzo and El Paso, belonging to Maestre de Campo Alonso García and others.¹⁰ At the time when Cruzate took possession of the government, he found it necessary to make a campaign against these enemies, in which he killed many, captured some twenty-two, and spread terror among the remainder. From the captives he learned that before his arrival they had plotted to annihilate the Spaniards.¹¹ At El Paso the presence among the Christian Mansos of the Piros, Tiguas, and other intruders from the in-

⁵ Letter of the cabildo, October 16, 1680, *Autos tocantes*, folio 98.

⁶ Letter of Otermín, October 20, 1680, *ibid.*, folios 99-102.

⁷ Letter of Ayeta to the Com. Gen., December 20, 1680, *Doc. Hist. Nuevo Mex.*, vol. 1, p. 564.

⁸ Letter of the cabildo, October 16, 1680, *Autos tocantes*, folio 98.

⁹ Letter of Otermín, October 20, 1680, *ibid.*, folio 101.

¹⁰ Letter of Fray Nicolás Hurtado, January 30, 1682, *Autos Pertenecientes*, ff. 99 et seq.; auto of Otermín, February 11, 1682, *ibid.* f. 103.

¹¹ Letter of Cruzate, October 30, 1683, *Viage*, p. 4.

terior of New Mexico doubtless had much to do with the unrest of the Indians at that place.¹²

Before the actual outbreak in the spring of 1684, the Indians made several attempts to revolt. According to Cruzate, who attributed the general unrest to the flimsy nature of Indian conversions and to the Indian's innate hatred of the Spaniards and their religion, the natives made no less than five attempts to destroy the Spaniards.¹³ In March, 1681, Otermín discovered what appeared to have been an abortive attempt to destroy El Paso. On the sixth of that month Alonso Shimitigua, an Isleta Indian who had retired to El Paso with the Spaniards in 1680, returned to Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe from a trip to the Pueblo region, which he had undertaken soon after settling at El Paso, for the purpose of finding out the condition of those provinces and of trying to return the apostates to the fold of the church. He reported that while in the Pueblo region he was imprisoned because of his Spanish sympathies, and that two of his companions, Baltasar and Thomás—both Isleta Indians, like himself—had told Popé, the head chief, that they had come to invite the Pueblo tribes to help the Piros and Tiguas of El Paso to kill all the religious and other Spaniards; that his brother Joseph had gone to convoke the Mansos; and that the deed would have been accomplished already had not the Ysleta interpreter named Juan Moro, the Tigua governor, the Manso governor named Don Francisco, the Manso lieutenant named Don Luis, and an Emes Indian named El Muço, interfered. Popé entered into this proposal and made plans for Baltasar and Thomás to return to El Paso at the head of a Piro and Tigua band, and, with the aid of the Sumas and Mansos, to carry out the proposed massacre. But the whole scheme came to naught. Shimitigua made his escape and returned to El Paso, where he was soon followed by Baltasar and Thomás. When Otermín examined the last two Indians, they declared that they had told the story of the proposed attack on El Paso to save their lives, as their

¹² Action of the cabildo, etc., *Autos sobre los Socorros*, folio 34.

¹³ Letter of Cruzate, July 25, 1684, *Expediente No. 2*, pp. 44-47; *Dictamen Fiscal*, *ibid.*, pp. 48-50.

kindred at Isleta had warned them that the apostate Indians killed all Spanish sympathizers. Baltasar and Thomás, as will appear below, were soon under suspicion again for fomenting the desire to revolt. Joseph, on examination, disclaimed all knowledge of any such plot.¹⁴

In July of the same year Governor Otermín discovered what appeared to be another effort at revolt. According to the information gathered by Otermín, the Piros and Tiguas were planning to kill the Spaniards and the Mansos and return to their ancient superstitions. Among the Indians implicated in the conspiracy were Sebastián Zhetooy, Francisco Guithosi, Fernando, Baltasar, and Thomás. Although the governor secured declarations from a number of Indians, the testimony of two Piros, Diego Quoiquioli and Ursula, was his chief source of information concerning the plot. From it he learned that the Indians had been in a state of unrest for some time, but that the immediate cause of the conspiracy was the work of two Tigua Indians of Isleta, Baltasar de la Cruz and Thomás the Sacristan, who had recently come from New Mexico, assembled a number of Indians in the Piro pueblo, told them of the satisfaction the Pueblo Indians were experiencing in the recovery of their freedom, and urged the Piros to throw off their subjection. When the charges against them were made known to Baltasar and Thomás, both confessed to having come from New Mexico, but denied trying to incite revolt. Upon re-examination Diego Quoiquioli modified his charges, saying he had heard from other Indians the things he reported, but Ursula maintained that she had heard and seen what she reported. Otermín then ordered the accused put to torture, under which Sebastian Zhetooy and Fernando altered their confessions. Since the collection of documents bearing on these events is both badly mutilated and incomplete, the result of the examination is left a matter of surmise. The evidence adduced, however, is sufficient to show that the Indians of the El Paso district were dissatisfied with Spanish rule and ready to return to their ancient mode of life, and that the Christian

¹⁴ *Auto* of Otermín, March 9, 1681, MSS in Bancroft Collection.

Indians were making common cause with the heathen tribes of the neighborhood, including the ever-active Apaches.^{14a}

The actual outbreak, as has been said, occurred in the spring of 1684. The discovery of the conspiracy came about in the following manner. On the night of March 14, about ten o'clock, there appeared before Cruzate two Tigua Indians, Francisco Tilagua, the Tigua governor, and Juan de Ortega, his lieutenant. Accompanying the Tiguas were two Piros, Pedro and Ventura, father and son. The latter had come to inform Cruzate of a plot to kill the Spaniards, and the former had come to act as interpreters. From these informers Cruzate learned that five Mansos had visited Pedro, asked him to join a conspiracy which was afoot, and urged him to use his influence with his people and with the Tiguas of Isleta to secure their co-operation. For the purpose of getting information, Pedro agreed to the proposal and sent his son Ventura to the meeting which the Mansos were holding that night. Upon Ventura's return from the conference, Pedro reported what had happened to the Tigua governor, at whose suggestion all four came to make known the conspiracy to Cruzate.¹⁵

The meeting of the conspirators was held at the house of Don Luis, the Indian governor of the Mansos. There were present all the Christian and many of the heathen Mansos, including the latter's chief, Captain Chiquito. The leading conspirators were Don Luis, governor of the Christian Mansos; Jusepillo, the Apache;¹⁶ Jusephe, the war captain, and brother to Jusepillo; Agustinillo; Antonio, the alcalde; Francisco, the alcalde's brother; Gregorillo; and Juanillo, the war captain. At the conference several plans of attack upon the Spaniards were proposed. Some suggested setting upon the Spaniards while they

^{14a} Investigation of an alleged conspiracy of the Piro and Tigua Indians, Guadalupe del Paso, July 5-10, 1681 (Archives of Santa Fé, in Library of Congress). Examination of several Indians by Governor Otermín, July 11, 1681 (MSS in Baneroft Collection).

¹⁵ *Cavesa de Proceso*, March 16, 1684, *Autos sobre los Socorros*, folio 1.

¹⁶ According to Jusepillo's confession in *ibid.*, folio 2, he had been captured by the Spaniards when he was a little child and reared by Fray García de San Francisco.

were in the church hearing mass and unarmed; as these represented only a small part of the population, the Indians would attack the others in their houses at the same time. Men, women and children, priests and laymen were to share the same fate. One friar only would be spared to go afoot to Mexico to report the massacre. Other conspirators favored setting fire to the granaries of the monastery at night, as a means of bringing the whole body of inhabitants out of their houses; in the midst of the confusion they would make the attack. A third proposal, and one which seemed to meet the approval of all, was to postpone the massacre until Easter morning—"the day the God of the Spaniards ascended into the sky"—when the Spaniards were having their fiesta and were careless of danger. In the meantime, they would secure the alliance of the Piros and Tiguas, as they had already convoked the Sumas of El Ojito and of La Thoma and the Janos of La Soledad, to whom messengers had already been sent. Having agreed upon this last plan, the leaders dismissed the assemblage, at the same time urging Ventura for him and his father to win the Piros and Tiguas to the alliance.¹⁷ Upon hearing the report of Pedro and Ventura, Cruzate sent one to the house of Captain Alonso de Aguilar and the other to the house of Juan Lucero, the sargento mayor, for the purpose of securing their accusations in legal form.

Cruzate had scarcely disposed of Pedro and Ventura before Juan Pelon, a loyal Manso Indian, came at daybreak to reveal the conspiracy. Juan reported that he had just learned of the plot the night before from a kinsman who wished to take him to the meeting. He had refused the invitation, preferring to take his wife to the convent and there die with the Spaniards. Being too distressed to sleep, he had come to tell Cruzate in time to prevent the treachery.¹⁸

As soon as Juan Pelon had made his report, Cruzate issued an order for the arrest of the eight Indians named by Pedro and Ventura. In order to secure the arrests without creating sus-

¹⁷ *Cavesa de Proceso*, in *Autos sobre los Socorros*, folio 1.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

picion, he made use of the Manso governor, Don Luis, calling each Indian separately and lodging him apart from his confederates. Don Luis was then imprisoned.¹⁹

Though the confessions of the eight prisoners were substantially the same as the reports of Pedro and Ventura, Cruzate secured some additional information from them that throws new light on the conspiracy. The Indians had been holding meetings and planning revolt since the time of Alcalde Mayor Andrés de Gracia, who had hanged some Mansos suspected of plotting an uprising.²⁰ Moreover, the Indians had held many meetings recently, the last of which was the one attended by Pedro and Ventura.²¹ The fact that the Indians of New Mexico had gone unpunished seems to have encouraged the continuance of the plotting. Other causes of disaffection given were the lack of sympathy with the church; the wish to live undisturbed in their lands, and in accordance with their ancient customs; lack of knowledge of the Spanish laws; and a desire to possess themselves of the wealth of the Spaniards, which they had planned to divide among themselves, keeping the oxen to till the land. The conspirators, moreover, planned a single attack on El Paso by the combined force of Mansos, Sumas, Piros, Tiguas, and Janos, after which they would attack Janos and Casas Grandes. Several other points were elicited. The reward of the Piros and Tiguas for their disaffection was to be permission to return to New Mexico, and the penalty for non-compliance was to be death with the Spaniards. It is significant that four of the leaders were civil officers of the pueblos, and with one exception were young men whose ages ranged from twenty to thirty years.²²

On March 17 Cruzate named Matías Lucero de Godoy as attorney for the defense. Before delivering him the papers, Cruzate had them duly sworn to and signed by the informers and the

¹⁹ *Cavesa de Proceso*, in *Autos sobre los Socorros*, folio 2.

²⁰ Confession of Joseph, *ibid.*, folios 4-5; confession of Antonio, *ibid.*, folio 4; confession of Francisco, *ibid.*, folio 5.

²¹ Confessions of Gregorillo, Agustín, Joseph the Manso, Antonio the alcalde, and Luis the governor, *ibid.*, folios 2, 3, 4, and 6.

²² Confessions of the eight prisoners, *ibid.*, folios 2-6.

prisoners. Godoy was given only six hours to prepare his plea, but on March 18 he announced his defense as complete. It was based mainly on the primitive nature of the Indians. Though the prisoners had plotted to kill, they had not killed. Having been born free, the Indians knew naught of subjection; not comprehending the error they were about to commit, they were merely striving to live in freedom and in accord with their ancient laws. Though the Spaniards had been passing through their pueblos to and from New Mexico for many years, and had even camped in their pueblos, the latter had never done them any injury; now, being Christians, if they plotted evil, it was the work of the demon, for the Indians really wished to support the church. Their innocence was patent from the ease with which they made their confessions. Therefore, being ignorant of the enormity of their treachery, they should not be punished with the rigor applicable to one capable of understanding; being as little children, they should be freed from the penalty of capital punishment. Godoy, accordingly, prayed that the death sentence be commuted to banishment or slavery, hoping that clemency would quiet the unrest among the whole body of natives and keep them obedient to the church.²³

In spite of the defense, Cruzate pronounced the death sentence against the eight, and ordered them garotted in jail and their bodies hung up in the public place as a warning to their confederates. Moreover, he ordered the sentence executed that very night, March 18, as a means of preventing a riot.²⁴ About seven o'clock in the evening the sentence was read to the prisoners by the secretary, Pedro Ladrón de Guevara. Cruzate then named Maestre de Campo Alonso García to execute the sentence, and ordered him to take with him two priests to prepare the criminals for death.²⁵

A short time after this charge was given to García, two priests, Fray Francisco Farfán and Fray Joseph de Espinola, accom-

²³ *Cavesa de Proceso*, in *Autos sobre los Socorros*, folios 6-7.

²⁴ *Pronunciamento*, March 18, 1684, *ibid.*, folio 8.

²⁵ *Notificación*, in *ibid.*, folio 8; order of execution, *ibid.*, folio 8.

panied by Alonso García and most of the citizens, appeared before Cruzate. They came to ask for a suspension of the execution, because the expedition to the Jumano country had not returned, and they feared the enraged Indians would wreak vengeance on this party, composed, as it was, of three priests—Fray Nicolás López, Fray Juan de Zavaleta, and Fray Antonio de Acevedo—and twenty-six soldiers, most of whom were married and had children. Cruzate granted their petition and suspended the execution to a more convenient time.²⁶

Though the execution of the leaders was postponed, their arrest and condemnation seems to have delayed the outbreak at El Paso. But the uprising at Janos and Casas Grandes, which was planned to follow the massacre at El Paso,²⁷ took place in May. For chronological reasons, therefore, the story of events at those places will precede the account of subsequent events at El Paso.

2. *The Revolt at Janos and Casas Grandes.*—The declarations of Pedro and Ventura and of the eight prisoners all show that messengers had already been sent to incorporate the Janos Indians in the revolt.²⁸ These messengers, two Suma heathen,²⁹ set out on March 14,³⁰ but nothing further is said of their mission. The next embassy, apparently, consisted of a party of seven Indians led by Jusepillo, a Manso apostate.³¹ Following this embassy, two Janos came to El Paso to confer with the Manso Christians and heathen who were already assembling at the ranchería of Captain Chiquito. Both were sent back to Janos to convoke those Indians, and one again came to El Paso to report the success of his mission. It appears to have been this last-mentioned Jano who accompanied Juan the Quivira and Diego the Lieutenant, who were the next messengers to the Janos.

²⁶ Suspension of execution, *Autos sobre los Socorros*, folio 8.

²⁷ Confession of Gregorillo, March 15, 1684, *ibid.*, folio 3.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, folios 1-6.

²⁹ Confession of Governor Luis, *ibid.*, folio 6.

³⁰ Confession of Jusephe the Apache, *ibid.*, folio 2.

³¹ Confession of Juan the Quivira, *ibid.*, folio 10. Juan received this information from Jusepillo and Juan Pelon.

These last two messengers played an important part in the conspiracy. Diego the Lieutenant appears to have taken the leadership of the revolt after the capture of Governor Luis.³² Juan the Quivira was in prison at the time the eight conspirators were incarcerated, having been placed there by Cruzate, who suspected him of being an emissary of the apostate Indians of New Mexico. Through the carelessness of the Spanish guards, and with the aid of Governor Luis and the latter's sister, Juan made his escape from jail in order to go to Janos with a message from the governor. Upon Juan's return from Janos he was again imprisoned; but a second time he escaped, took part in burning the jail, sought refuge in Captain Chiquito's *ranchería*, and again undertook a mission, this time to New Mexico to secure the alliance of the Pueblo Indians. Becoming aware of Juan's movements, on July 14 Cruzate sent ten Tiguas in pursuit of the fugitive; they captured him and returned him to prison. Being tried on various charges, he was convicted and sentenced to hang with the eight already condemned.³³

Immediately after Diego the Lieutenant and Juan the Quivira appeared at Janos³⁴—about May 6—a massacre took place in the mission of La Soledad in which Father Beltrán, the resident priest, and the family of Antonio de Aruiza, the priest's guard, lost their lives.³⁵ The mission was robbed and the convent burned. Nine heathen under the leadership of a nephew of Captain Chiquito went from El Paso to Janos to assist in the massacre. The Sumas belonging to the mission of La Soledad aided the Janos also, but no Christian Indians of El Paso seem to have been implicated.³⁶

³² Confession of Pedro, August 7, 1684, *Autos sobre los Socorros*, folios 11–12.

³³ *Auto* of Cruzate, August 1, 1684, *ibid.*, folio 8; *Auto Causa de preso*, July 15, 1684, *ibid.*, f. 10; Declaration of Juan the Quivira, *ibid.*, f. 10. For a further account of Juan's escape, see his declaration.

³⁴ Letter of Ramírez, April 14, 1685, *ibid.*, folio 140; *representación* of López, September 19, 1684, *Viage*, p. 89.

³⁵ *Auto* of Cruzate, in *Autos sobre los Socorros*, folios 8–9.

³⁶ Declaration of Juan the Quivira, July 15, 1684, *ibid.*, folio 10; declaration of Pedro, August 7, 1684, *ibid.*, ff. 11–12; declaration of Juan,

Encouraged by their success at Janos, the Indians threatened an attack on Casas Grandes. The alcalde of that place, Francisco Ramírez de Salazar, hurriedly petitioned Cruzate for aid. His messenger arrived at El Paso at eleven o'clock one night, bringing the news of the massacre and asking for help. Notwithstanding the threatening attitude of the Mansos and Sumas, Cruzate immediately dispatched Maestre de Campo Andrés García with a troop of thirty soldiers to the aid of Casas Grandes. Upon his arrival there García found that the Indians had intrenched themselves on a *peñol*. Their force, which was about two thousand strong, consisted of Mansos, Janos, Sumas, Jocomes, Chinaras, and other tribes. A force of forty heathen from El Paso re-enforced them,³⁷ but no Christian Indians of that place took part in the ensuing struggle.³⁸ On June 2 the combined forces of the alcalde mayor and Captain García, including some New Mexican citizens who had come from Sonora and whom García incorporated in his company, made an assault on the Indian stronghold. In the first encounter Juan de Lagos and ten Indians were killed. The hostile Indians were scattered, but their power was not broken. On the fifth, Captain Ramírez and Captain García were back at Casas Grandes, but were planning another attack on the enemy.³⁹

August 7, 1684. *ibid.*, f. 12. For further reports on events at the Janos Mission see letter of the cabildo, July 6, 1684, *ibid.*, ff. 149-150; letter of the cabildo, August 18, 1684, *ibid.*, ff. 32-34; letter of Cruzate, July 25, 1684, *Expediente*, No. 2, pp. 44-47; letter of Cruzate, October 7, 1684, *Viage*, pp. 79-80; petition of the cabildo, October 27, 1684, *ibid.*, f. 21.

³⁷ Declarations of Pedro and Juan, August 7, 1684, *Autos sobre los Socorros*, folio 12.

³⁸ Declaration of Juan, August 7, 1684, *ibid.*, folio 12.

³⁹ Letter of Francisco Ramírez de Salazar, June 6, 1684, *Autos sobre los Socorros*, folio 94; declaration of Maestre de Campo Alonso García, el Padre, April 14, 1685, *ibid.*, ff. 104-5; declaration of Alonso García, el Moso, *ibid.*, f. 103; declaration of Roque Madrid, April 13, 1685, *ibid.*, f. 102; declaration of Captain Felipe Romero, April 14, 1685, *ibid.*, f. 105; declaration of Felipe Serna, April 14, 1685, *ibid.*, f. 106; declaration of Sargento Lazaro de Arteaga y Pedrossa, *ibid.*, f. 108; certification of the cabildo, October 27, 1684, *ibid.*, f. 21; *Dictamen Fiscal*, January 22, 1685, in *Viage*, p. 82; letter of Cruzate, July 25, 1684, *Expediente* No. 2, pp. 44-47.

The disaffection among the Indians at Janos and Casas Grandes seems to have spread to the neighboring settlements. Writing on the sixth of June Captain Ramírez mentions having information of unrest in the valley of San Martín and Parral; and he says that troops had been sent to the aid of the two places, and that if all went well the troops would attack the enemy at Agua Nueva.⁴⁰ The aid to those parts appears to have been sent by Ramírez.

On the tenth of June Captain Ramírez seems to have made a second attack upon the enemy.⁴¹ The latter were intrenched about thirty leagues from Casas Grandes in a rugged sierra called El Diablo, and had a large fighting force. With a company of twelve men assembled by Captain Ramírez, and about thirty arquebusiers contributed by Captain Juan Fernández de la Fuente of the Spanish militia, the attack was made, the Indians refusing the proffered peace. Though the Spaniards were unable to conquer the Indians, they claimed a victory, inasmuch as they were not themselves conquered. They lost one Spaniard and some friendly Indians in the fight. Captain Ramírez wished to return the next day to renew the conflict, but in a junta which the Spaniards held the majority favored waiting for a more convenient occasion; accordingly, each one returned to his own jurisdiction and home. No mention is made in this account of the troops of Captain García, who may have returned to El Paso immediately after his arrival at Casas Grandes on the fifth of June.⁴²

3. *The Revolt of the Sumas*.—Though the Indian situation at Casas Grandes and in its environs was by no means settled, for the purpose of clearness the writer must turn to review the situation at other places more immediate to El Paso. The part

⁴⁰ Letter of Francisco Ramírez de Salazar, June 6, 1684, *Autos sobre los Socorros*, folio 94.

⁴¹ The writer is not quite certain that this attack was not confused by Captain Ramírez with the one recorded above as taking place on June 2d. The attack attributed to the tenth of June was recorded in a letter of April 14, 1685.

⁴² Letter of Captain Francisco Ramírez de Salazar, April 14, 1685, *Autos sobre los Socorros*, folio 140.

played by the Suma Indians claims an important place in the narrative.

The two heathen Sumas dispatched to Janos on March 14 were also ordered to convoke the Sumas who dwelt in the missions of San Francisco de la Toma and of Santa Getrudis del Ojito.⁴³ The result of their mission is unknown. The next embassy to the Sumas seems to have been led by Jusepillo, a Manso apostate, and six companions. At the time Juan the Quivira made his first escape from prison, these seven Manso apostates were lodged in a little sierra in the neighborhood of Guadalupe del Paso, and their leader conferred with Juan. They were apparently about to set out to convoke the Sumas of Río Abajo. They had instructions to leave along the road certain signs to indicate that the attack would be made in two months, when the maize patches were ripe. It seems that at some earlier time they had secured the allegiance of the Sumas of Mission San Francisco de la Toma, and had incorporated them with the Manso apostates and heathen; but these Sumas, harassed by the drouth, sued for peace and were restored to the church by the guardian.⁴⁴

The third embassy to the Sumas was led by Diego the Lieutenant. Upon his return from Janos, probably in May, he ordered the Christian Mansos to withdraw to the ranchería of Captain Chiquito,⁴⁵ and from there he and six companions set out to visit the Sumas on the lower river. He made known to the Sumas his purpose of assembling them with the Mansos, and won their allegiance to the revolt. Some offered to return with him to El Paso and there spy upon the Spaniards while Diego and his companions returned to the ranchería of Captain Chiquito to confer with the Mansos; upon Diego's return, leading the Mansos, Janos, and Sumas, they would report what they had seen. Either then or later Diego accepted this offer and returned to El Paso with a following of seventy Sumas, among whom were

⁴³ Declaration of the eight prisoners, March 15, 1684, *Autos sobre los Socorros*, folios 2-6.

⁴⁴ Confession of Juan the Quivira, July 15, 1684, *ibid.*, folio 10.

⁴⁵ *Auto* of Cruzate, August 1, 1684, *ibid.*, folio 9.

a number of Indians implicated in the revolt at Santa Getrudis; of this last mentioned defection a fuller account will follow below.⁴⁶ Diego sent a Suma captain and a brother of Toribio to inform the Sumas that a smoke on the river would be the signal in case the Spaniards attacked them; and, in case of attack, he ordered them to withdraw to the other side of the river.⁴⁷ According to the declaration of Joseph the Tano, Diego went to La Toma to appoint the day of attack, and those at the ranchería waited many days for his return; but he never came, and therefore they suspected that the Spaniards had hanged him.⁴⁸ The date of Diego's capture is not indicated in the documents, but he was captured at the same time Juan the Quivira, Luisillo, and Chaslixa were taken, and the four were acting at the time as messengers from Captain Chiquito's ranchería.⁴⁹

The unconverted Sumas were implicated in the revolt, and probably took an active part. Their leaders were Tomás, Diego, his son, and El Vermejo.⁵⁰

The revolt of the Sumas of Santa Getrudis occurred about the same time as that at La Soledad. When the Indians rose the priest was absent, but Juan de Archuleta with his wife and family fell victims to the fury of the Indians. The convent was robbed and burned. Among those implicated in the revolt were Estevanillo, Francisco, Andrés, Francisco the Captain, Juan, and Geromillo. All of these except the last named were in the company of Diego the Lieutenant when the latter came to Guadalupe del Paso accompanied by the seventy Sumas, and they were captured by Cruzate.⁵¹

⁴⁶ Declaration of a Suma heathen, August 10, 1684, *Autos sobre los Socorros*, folio 13; declaration of Juan the Manso, September 19, 1684, *ibid.*, f. 13; *Auto* of Cruzate, *ibid.*, f. 9.

⁴⁷ Confession of Pedro, August 7, 1684, *ibid.*, folios 11-12.

⁴⁸ Declaration of Joseph the Tano, November 3, 1684, *ibid.*, folio 14.

⁴⁹ *Auto* of Cruzate, *ibid.*, folios 8-9.

⁵⁰ Declaration of a Suma heathen, August 10, 1684, *ibid.*, folio 13; declaration of Juan the Manso, September 19, 1684, *ibid.*, f. 13.

⁵¹ Letter of the cabildo, July 6, 1684, *ibid.*, ff. 149-150; *Auto* of Cruzate, August 1, 1684, *ibid.*, f. 9; letter of Cruzate, August 18, 1684, *ibid.*,

Learning of the revolt, Cruzate sent the *alférez de campaña*, Alonso García the younger with a troop of soldiers to the scene of action. Arriving there García buried the Spaniards and returned to El Paso. Cruzate sent him back a second time to punish the enemies and collect the stock that belonged to the convent.⁵²

4. *The Revolt of the Mansos*.—It has already been said that the imprisonment of the leaders seemed for a time to check the plottings of the Mansos, but they soon found a new leader in Diego the Lieutenant, who ordered them to withdraw from their pueblos and join their kinsmen in Captain Chiquito's ranchería. They withdrew at night and without committing such atrocities as marked the uprisings at Janos and Santa Getrudis. The defection seems to have followed closely upon the revolt at Janos and Santa Getrudis, for on September 19, 1684, Father López, speaks of the Mansos having been in revolt four months.⁵³

Both Cruzate and the priests made several efforts to persuade the Mansos to return to their pueblos. At one time Cruzate sent them a letter by a loyal Manso Indian named Juan. When a Manso singer read the letter to the assembled people, they scorned the message and the messenger, and as a mark of disgust tore the paper into bits and asked Juan if he had remained behind to bear them this letter.⁵⁴

The last messenger sent to reconcile the Mansos went during the latter part of July.⁵⁵ This time the messenger was Juan del Espíritu Santo, another loyal Christian Manso. He seems to have been sent by López and Gómez, who were thought to have some influence with the Indians. As an assurance to the apostates that he had returned from the Jumano country, and

f. 32; letter of Cruzate, July 25, 1684, *Expediente No. 2*, pp. 44-47; letter of Cruzate, October 7, 1684, *Viage*, p. 79; declaration of Juan, *Autos sobre los Socorros*, f. 13.

⁵² Declaration of García el Mozo, *Autos sobre los Socorros*, folio 103.

⁵³ Statement of López, September 19, 1684, *ibid.*, folio 89; letter of Cruzate, October 7, 1684, *Viage*, p. 79.

⁵⁴ *Auto* of Cruzate, August 1, 1684, *ibid.*, folio 8; declaration of Juan the Manso, August 7, 1684, *ibid.*, . 12.

⁵⁵ The mission took place after López returned from the Jumano country, i.e., July 18, 1684. See statement of Mendoza, *Viage*, p. 52.

that Juan was his messenger, López sent with Juan his Jumano Indian servant. Upon Juan's arrival at the ranchería, the Indians assembled to hear the message. As four Manso Christians were absent on a raiding expedition, the apostates asked that they might delay their answer two days. At the end of that time the four had not yet returned. The Mansos, therefore, concluded that they had been captured by the Spaniards. Unsuccessful in his mission, Juan set out upon his return from the ranchería accompanied by his mother-in-law. On his way he met two Indians on horseback, who forced him to return to the ranchería with them. There he found the Mansos formed into a circle, in the middle of which was a knife buried to its hilt in the ground. They placed Juan in a corner and accused him of plotting to deliver the Mansos into the hands of the Spaniards, so the latter could behead their men and take their wives and children to Parral; but they finally asked him to return to El Paso, find out whether the four raiders had been captured, and bring back the information.

Juan again set out for El Paso. This time he met Cruzate coming, accompanied by Father Guerra and Captain Madrid, who led a squad of thirty-six soldiers and some friendly Indians. Cruzate sent Juan back to the ranchería to announce his coming, giving him his rosary as a token that he came in peace. When Juan again reached the Indian encampment, he found that spies had already carried the news of Cruzate's coming. The men had transported the women and children to the other side of the river for safety, and had armed themselves, ready to meet an attack. When Cruzate reached the scene of action, he left the soldiers at a distance and approached the Indians, accompanied by Father Guerra. Just as he was about to dismount, Juan warned him that the natives intended to set upon him and the priest as soon as they had dismounted and to kill them, after which they would attack the soldiers. Seeing that Cruzate and Guerra hesitated to dismount, the rebels attacked at once with their bows and arrows. But the Spaniards were on the alert and the troops of Captain Madrid returned the volley with their arquebuses, scat-

tering the natives, who fled toward the river. Cruzate then set fire to the ranchería and returned to El Paso.⁵⁶

As the Indians had attacked the Spaniards while the latter were engaged upon a friendly mission, on Cruzate's return to El Paso he declared war on the Mansos and their allies, and determined to execute the death sentence on the imprisoned leaders. He ordered Maestre de Campo Alonso García to execute the sentence, and commanded Captain Madrid to guard him with a squad of soldiers during the execution. On August 5, about three o'clock in the afternoon, the eight leaders first captured, together with Juan the Quivira and Diego the Lieutenant, who had been captured and condemned during July, were led forth to the public gallows and executed. The bodies were left hanging in the public place as a warning to all evil-doers.⁵⁷

While the execution of the ringleaders may have thrown the allies into temporary confusion, it did not check the conspiracy; increased activity to make the revolt more far-reaching and all-inclusive went on apace. Efforts to incorporate the apostates of interior New Mexico were renewed, when the Mansos caught two Tigua Indians of Isleta, Lucas and Salvador, while the latter were fleeing toward New Mexico with some mares which they had stolen from their guardian. Upon being examined the Tiguas asserted that they were sent to New Mexico by two captains, Umpiquire and Pesoñi, to bring the apostates of the interior to help kill the Spaniards and priests. They said further that the Indians of Isleta wished to go to New Mexico because, as their governor, Juan Moro, had told them, the Spaniards were talking of taking them toward Mexico. This story fitting in with the wishes of

⁵⁶ Declaration of Juan del Espíritu Santo, *Autos sobre los Socorros*, folios 9-10; auto of Cruzate, *ibid.*, f. 9; declaration of Joseph the Tano, *ibid.*, f. 14; declaration of Roque Madrid, *ibid.*, ff. 100-101; letter of Cruzate, July 25, 1684, *Expediente No. 2*, pp. 44-47; *Dictamen Fiscal*, *ibid.*, pp. 48-50; letter of the cabildo, August 18, 1684, *Autos sobre los Socorros*, folio 33; letter of the cabildo, October 27, 1684, *ibid.*, ff. 20-21; letter of Cruzate, October 7, 1684, *Viage*, p. 80; letter of the cabildo, August 23, 1685, *Autos sobre los Socorros*, f. 135; *Dictamen Fiscal*, January 22, 1685, *Viage*, p. 82.

⁵⁷ Auto of Cruzate, August 1, 1684, *Autos sobre los Socorros*, folios 8-9; command for execution, *ibid.*, f. 11; testimony of execution, August 5, 1684, *ibid.*, f. 11.

the Mansos, they made friends with the two Tiguas, returned their bows and arrows, and urged them to bring the natives of New Mexico back with them; the Mansos promised to be in San Diego when the Tiguas returned. The flight of the Tiguas took place between the latter part of July and August 18. One of the youths, Lucas, returned to El Paso in the following February as a peace messenger from the interior Indians. The morning after his arrival Juan Moro, his governor, took him to Cruzate. In the declaration which he made on February 12 he said that he told the story to the Mansos to save his life.⁵⁸

About the time when Juan del Espíritu Santo went upon his peace mission to Captain Chiquito's ranchería, Cruzate received information that four Manso Christians—doubtless the four mentioned by the apostates to Juan as having set out upon a raiding expedition—had come from Captain Chiquito's ranchería and secretly entered the house of a Manso in Pueblo del Paso. Accordingly Cruzate ordered them captured, and sent a scouting party to examine the tracks and find out whether the four had been accompanied by others. When the scouting party returned, they reported that there were only four Indians, but that the latter had destroyed the maize patch of a friendly Piro. From two of the four,⁵⁹ Pedro and Juan,⁶⁰ Cruzate secured a confession which showed that the apostates were still plotting the destruction of the Spaniards. They treated of coming to El Paso on a dark night and setting fire to the convents in all parts where there was timber; then dividing in groups, which were already named, they would attack the Spaniards in their houses and kill all, including the governor and priests. Joseph the Tano proposed

⁵⁸ Declaration of Joseph the Tano, November 3, 1684, *Autos sobre los Socorros*, folio 14; *Auto* of Cruzate, February 12, 1685, *ibid.*, f. 96; declaration of Lucas, February 12, 1685, *ibid.*, f. 96; letter of the cabildo, August 18, 1684, *ibid.*, f. 33.

⁵⁹ Two of the four raiders were left at Captain Chiquito's ranchería when Cruzate went there; this fact indicates that the capture was effected about the time Cruzate went on that expedition. See *Auto y Causa de Preso*, August 7, 1684, *Autos sobre los Socorros*, folio 11.

⁶⁰ Juan was the messenger sent by Cruzate to the apostates with the letter. See confession of Juan, August 7, 1684, *Autos sobre los Socorros*, folio 12.

dressing himself as a Spaniard and going ahead of the others in order to mount to the roof of the church and discharge at the Spaniards the cannon kept there.⁶¹

How extensive were the campaigns against the enemy during the month of August is not clear from the documents. There was some skirmishing near Los Sauces between the enemy and a party escorting Cruzate's messenger to the City of Mexico, in which one Spaniard was wounded.⁶² It is probable, too, that during this month the Spaniards made some attempts to punish the Apaches; of this a fuller account will appear in the paragraphs devoted to the Apaches.

On September 19 Cruzate secured a declaration from another captive Manso named Juan, and learned that the Mansos were assembled at the Suma ranchería on the lower river and were still plotting the destruction of El Paso. The plan now formulated was for the men to set out from the ranchería and lodge the first night at a place called El Ancón de Ximenes; from there they would pass to a little sierra near the pueblo of El Paso; and from the sierra they would make the attack on a dark night "when the moon was in the middle of the sky." While some of the men were killing the Spaniards and burning the buildings, others would visit the maize patches and carry away the corn to the sierra. They still wished to leave one friar alive to carry the news to Mexico City. The new feature in this plan was the scheme to seize Cruzate alive, have the women kill him, and then cut off his head and place it on a high pole facing the pueblo, in the manner Cruzate had dealt with their leaders. The time of the attack was close at hand, for the Indians were busy making mescal and grinding mesquite beans for the journey. Juan said that he had never seen so many people assembled.⁶³

Cruzate immediately took measures to break up the assembly on the lower part of the river and to prevent the massacre.

⁶¹ Confession of Pedro, August 7, 1684, *Autos sobre los Socorros*, folios 11-12; confession of Juan, August 7, 1684, *ibid.*, f. 12.

⁶² Letter of Fr. Joseph Ximenes, August 10, 1684, *ibid.*, folio 46.

⁶³ Declaration of Juan, a Manso Christian, September 19, 1684, *ibid.*, folio 13.

Ordering out Captain Madrid with a force of seventy soldiers and about one hundred friendly Indians, he led these troops in search of the rebels, captured and killed their spies and broke up the meeting. The Indians fled for many leagues, leaving Cruzate to burn their rancherías and overrun their lands. It was reported that ten nations were represented in this assemblage.⁶⁴

About the time that these events were happening, Francisco Ramírez de Salazar, alcalde of Casas Grandes, appeared at El Paso. Having left Casas Grandes on August 17 in company with Captain Fuente, Ramírez had followed the trail of the enemy as far as El Paso, and knowing the Mansos to be in revolt he stopped at El Paso for news of the enemy. Cruzate had a company of soldiers out in search of the Indians at the time Ramírez arrived. In a few days this party returned, bringing news of the route taken by the Mansos. Supposing that the Indians were on the way to Casas Grandes to join forces with those sought by Ramírez, he contributed a company of fifty soldiers and some Indians under Captain Madrid to follow the Indians and prevent the union. Though the combined forces of Ramírez, Fuente and Madrid followed the tracks of the Indians four days, they failed to find them. At length, when the soldiers were lodged about fifty leagues from Casas Grandes, news came that the Indians had separated and returned to their respective rancherías by different routes, and that they had attacked Casas Grandes. As the later events connected with this campaign belong to the revolt of Casas Grandes, they will be told below in connection with the uprising at that place.⁶⁵

And still the war of the Mansos dragged on, into the month of November. From a Tano Indian named Joseph, whom Captain Madrid captured while the latter was returning from a cam-

⁶⁴ Order of Cruzate, September 19, 1684, *Autos sobre los Socorros*, folio 14; letter of Cruzate, October 7, 1684, *Viage*, p. 79; *Dictamen Fiscal*, January 22, 1685, *ibid.*, p. 82; declaration of Alonso García el Padre, April 14, 1685, *Autos sobre los Socorros*, folio 105; declaration of Roque Madrid, April 13, 1685, *ibid.*, f. 100; letter of the cabildo, August 23, 1685, *ibid.*, f. 135; declaration of Juan, September 19, 1684, *ibid.*, f. 13.

⁶⁵ Statement of Ramírez, June 1, 1685, *Autos sobre los Socorros*, folio 130; letter of Ramírez, April 14, 1685, *ibid.*, f. 140.

paign in Casas Grandes, Cruzate secured a declaration on November 3. This confession throws new light on the causes of the revolt. According to Joseph's testimony, two of the chief instigators of the revolt were Agustín, the war captain, and his brother, Jusepillo. They and their kindred hated the Spaniards, because when Agustín and Jusepillo were little children Andrés de Gracia had hanged their father for stealing cattle and horses; since that time they had cherished the idea of revenge, and now that they were men they sought to get it. Joseph also declared that the Manso Christians and heathen were in a state of discord, particularly the Christians and their women, who said it was not "a good life to go fleeing," and that it was better to remain with the Spaniards.⁶⁶ Juan, whose testimony was taken on September 19, reported that there was discord between the Sumas and Mansos, the former claiming that the Sumas were responsible for their revolt, and had made use of deception to secure their alliance. Juan also said that the Sumas had tried to kill the Mansos, himself among the rest, for which reason he had returned to El Paso.⁶⁷

Though discontent was spreading through the ranks of the rebels, it must not be supposed that their power was yet broken. In the latter part of November Cruzate undertook to send some dispatches to Mexico City by Captain Diego de Luna and Alférez Hidalgo. To guard these messengers he sent Sargento Mayor Luis Granillo with a squad of ten men. At Los Patitos the party, which numbered twenty-five, was attacked during the night by a multitude of enemies, and seven of their number wounded. It was necessary for them to return to El Paso for aid. Cruzate set out in person with seventy men under Captain Madrid, and scoured the country; he overran the rancherías of the enemy, attacked them, killed some, and imprisoned their wives and children. Those who escaped fell into the hands of

⁶⁶ Declaration of Joseph the Tano, November 3, 1684, *Autos sobre los Socorros*, folios 14-15.

⁶⁷ Declaration of Juan, September 19, 1684, *ibid.*, folio 13.

Francisco Ramírez of Casas Grandes, who was also out campaigning.⁶⁸ The messengers were sent on their way in safety.

While the expeditions recorded above seem to have been the chief attempts to subdue the enemy, other minor campaigns were made. Roque Madrid and Alonso García, the elder, both mention having set forth on four or five other occasions in pursuit of the enemy.⁶⁹ On one occasion Maestre de Campo Alonso García was sent out with a troop to capture some fugitives; and on another occasion, probably in the spring or early summer, Captain Madrid was sent out with some soldiers to convoy the alms sent by the superiors to the priests at El Paso.⁷⁰

5. *Continued Hostility at Casas Grandes.*—The punishment inflicted in June on the Indians of the region around Casas Grandes proved to be but temporary in its effects. Unable to cope successfully with the situation, Captain Ramírez applied to his governor for aid; but it was not until August 8 that Governor Neira y Quiroga wrote, informing Ramírez that the nations near Parral were in revolt, and that he could spare no troops for Casas Grandes. Accordingly Captain Ramírez sought aid in Sonora, where he secured a company of soldiers and friendly Indians under the leadership of Captain Fuente.⁷¹ With these he set out from Casas Grandes on August 17⁷² in search of the enemy, following their tracks from sierra to sierra for days without overtaking them. Finding himself in the neighborhood of El Paso, presumably in the latter part of September, he went to that place to secure information. It has already been told how Cruzate gave him a company of fifty soldiers and some

⁶⁸ Letter of Cruzate, November 30, 1684, *Autos sobre los Socorros*, folio 1; declaration of Captain Madrid, April 13, 1685, *ibid.*, f. 100; declaration of Captain Felipe Romero, April 14, 1685, *ibid.*, f. 106; letter of Cruzate, April 30, 1685, *ibid.*, f. 109; letter of the cabildo, August 23, 1685, *ibid.*, f. 135.

⁶⁹ Declaration of Roque Madrid, April 13, 1685, *Autos sobre los Socorros*, folio 102; declaration of Alonso García el Padre, April 14, 1685, *ibid.*, f. 105.

⁷⁰ Declaration of Alonso García el Padre, April 14, 1685, *Autos sobre los Socorros*, folio 104; declaration of Roque Madrid, April 13, 1685, *ibid.*, f. 100; letter of Cruzate, July 25, 1684, *Expediente No. 2*, p. 47.

⁷¹ Letter of Ramírez, April 14, 1685, *Autos sobre los Socorros*, folio 140.

⁷² Certification of Captain Ramírez, June 1, 1685, *ibid.*, folio 130.

friendly Indians under Captain Madrid to follow the Mansos, who were suspected of having assembled themselves with the Janos. The exact date of the departure of the troops is unknown, but it was probably about the twentieth of September. The second day out three Apaches were captured, one of whom was sent to secure peace with his people and their alliance against the Mansos. On the third or fourth day an Indian named Jusephe—doubtless Jusephe the Tano—was captured, from whom it was learned that the Mansos might be overtaken in three days of rapid marching. Because of fatigue and lack of provisions, however, the leaders determined not to continue the pursuit, but to apply for provisions at Casas Grandes.

The messengers sent to Casas Grandes returned in great haste, bringing only two sacks of green corn but bearing letters from Captain Andrés López de Gracia and Father Álvarez, telling of an attack on Casas Grandes and the urgent need of help. It seems that the Indians had followed the movements of Captain Ramírez and that when they deemed him farthest away from Casas Grandes they had separated and returned by devious ways to make the attack on Casas Grandes on September 15. While the Spaniards succeeded in protecting themselves in the convent, the Indians burned all the houses and the stores of maize and wheat, and drove off a herd of horses and mules and about seven hundred small stock. In the encounter, which lasted from eleven o'clock at night until two o'clock the next afternoon (the fifteenth), many Indians were killed but no Spaniards. Having perpetrated all the damage they could, the savages withdrew to fortify themselves in a sierra five leagues away.

Immediately upon receipt of this information Ramírez, Fuente, and Madrid hastened with their troops to succor Casas Grandes. Arriving there on September 28, they sent out spies to reconnoiter the enemy; these soon returned with news of the enemy's retreat. On the thirtieth the combined forces, including a company of eighteen soldiers and thirty Indians who had come from Sinaloa, reached the mouth of the cañon leading to the stronghold of the Indians. As Captain Ramírez thought the attack should be made from another point, sixty men and some

Piros were led astray, but the main body of troops under Fuente and Madrid proceeded up the cañon on foot. A hard-fought battle followed, which lasted from sunrise to sunset. When the Spaniards withdrew at nightfall they found they had lost neither Spanish soldier nor Indian, but twenty-six or twenty-seven of their men were wounded, among the wounded being Captain Madrid, eleven of his soldiers and four Piro and Tigua Indians. Captain Madrid had led the assault.

In a junta de guerra held after the battle the leaders determined to seek re-enforcements before making a second assault on the enemy. Captain Fuente sent to the valley of Namiquipa in Sonora to ask aid of Sargento Mayor Diego de Quiros, who had gone there to aid that valley, and went in person to the first *partido* of Sonora to enlist two hundred friendly Indians. Captain Madrid sent to El Paso to ask Cruzate for one hundred Piro and Tigua Indians, and for munitions and provisions.⁷³ In response to these calls for aid, which were answered within fifteen days, El Paso and Sonora contributed enough soldiers and Indians to enable Ramírez to make the attack about the middle of October. This time the Indians, who had been re-enforced, were intrenched eight leagues beyond the site of the first battle, in an extremely rugged sierra. Again the battle lasted all day and was fiercely fought. The Spaniards gained a signal victory, killing many of the warriors and taking prisoners their wives and children. Those who escaped fled from the sierra, leaving their booty behind; horses, mules, small stock, and the goods stolen from the missions at Janos and Casas Grandes were thereby restored to their owners. The punishment inflicted on the enemy was so drastic that many were ready to sue for peace.⁷⁴

⁷³ Letter of Madrid to Cruzate, October 3, 1684, *Autos sobre los Socorros*, folio 43; letter of Ramírez to Cruzate, October 3, 1684, *ibid.*, f. 45; letter of Fuente to Cruzate, October 3, 1684, *ibid.*, f. 48.

⁷⁴ Certification of Ramírez and Fuente, October 20, 1684, *Autos sobre los Socorros*, folio 95; action of the cabildo, October 27, 1684, *ibid.*, f. 21; letter of Ramírez, April 14, 1685, *ibid.*, f. 140; declaration of Captain Madrid, April 13, 1685, *ibid.*, ff. 101-102; declaration of Alonso García el Moso, April 13, 1685, *ibid.*, f. 103; declaration of Felipe Romero, April 14, 1685, *ibid.*, f. 106; declaration of Felipe Serna, April 14, 1685, *ibid.*, f. 106; declaration of S. Lasaro de Arteaga y Pedrossa, April 14, 1685, *ibid.*, f. 108; letter of Cruzate, November 16, 1684, *ibid.*, f. 29.

The Indians around Casas Grandes seem to have been comparatively quiet during the month of November, but in December they were active again. On the first of that month Ramírez received a letter from Sargento Mayor Diego de Quiros, a miner of Real de San Juan de la Concepción, advising him of a powerful junta at El Ojo Caliente, estancia of Captain Domingo de la Presa. Ramírez immediately departed for that place. With twelve men of his own, eight herdsmen of the estancia and more than a hundred friendly Indians, he attacked the enemy on December 11. About two thousand were assembled on a plain, but the Spaniards attacked them with great vigor and gained a decisive victory. The Indians sued for peace. Ramírez granted it on condition that they should return to their pueblos and rancherías within fifteen days.⁷⁵

6. *The Julimes and the Apaches.*—The revolt extended to the eastward as far as La Junta de los Ríos. The tribes between La Junta and El Paso, along the Río del Norte, were already in revolt when Father López returned from La Junta in June; but the tribes of Río de Conchos and Río del Sacramento, by which route López had made his return, were dwelling peacefully in their pueblos and rancherías. During the summer, however, the Conchos, Julimes and other tribes of this region became involved in the general uprising. The defection of the Julimes at La Junta seems to have been caused by the execution of a number of their tribe at Parral, where eighteen Indians were sentenced to death for inciting revolt. It is significant that the Christian Indians of La Junta remained faithful, and took their priests, Fathers Zavaleta and Acevedo, to Parral, where they also carried the sacred vessels and ornaments of their churches for safe keeping.⁷⁶

The Apaches, enemies of both Spaniards and the other Indian tribes, were not slow to make temporary cause with the Indians of the revolt and to use every opportunity to make a successful

⁷⁵ Letter of Ramírez, April 14, 1685, *Autos sobre los Socorros*, folio 140.

⁷⁶ Representation of López, about June 7, 1685, *Viage*, p. 64; *Auto* of the religious, September 19, 1684, *ibid.*, pp. 91-92; letter of Cruzate, November 30, 1684, *Autos sobre los Socorros*, f. 1.

attack on the Spaniards. Nor was this surprising, for soon after Cruzate's arrival at El Paso, in 1683, he had dealt them a severe blow, overrunning their rancherías, capturing some of their people and killing many others.⁷⁷ At another time Cruzate had sent Felipe Serna with a troop of soldiers and Christian Indians to war on the Apaches. Serna overran their territories as far as El Cerro Aguajero.⁷⁸ On August 16, 1684,⁷⁹ Cruzate sent Captain Madrid with fifty soldiers and one hundred and seventy Indians to destroy a ranchería of apostate and gentile Apache, kill the men, and capture the women; although Madrid visited all the places where they were accustomed to place their rancherías, he failed to find them.⁸⁰ It has already been told how Captains Madrid, Ramírez, and Fuente, overrunning their land, captured three of their people, sending one to offer terms of peace with the Apache nation.⁸¹

7. *Peace Negotiations*.—While the year 1685 did not completely restore peace to the worn-out Spanish settlers, the land was comparatively quiet, and the Spanish leaders were chiefly concerned with making peace with the apostates. It has already been told how the Sumas of Mission San Francisco de la Toma, harassed by hunger, sued for peace before July 15, 1684, and were restored to the church by the guardian of Guadalupe.⁸² In September unsuccessful efforts were made to effect a peace with the heathen Sumas. On the fifteenth of that month Cruzate sent a Suma captive, whom he had captured about August 10, to tell Tomás, Don Diego, Vermejo and other Suma chiefs that they would be well received should they come to ask for peace. Cruzate provided this messenger with food, and sent Maestre

⁷⁷ Letter of Cruzate, October 30, 1683, *Viage*, p. 4; declaration of Roque Madrid, April 13, 1685, *Autos sobre los Socorros*, folio 100; declaration of the soldiers of the presidio, November 15, 1684, *ibid.*, f. 18.

⁷⁸ Declaration of Felipe Serna, April 14, 1685, *Autos sobre los Socorros*, folio 106.

⁷⁹ Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*, p. 193.

⁸⁰ Declaration of Madrid, April 13, 1685, *Autos sobre los Socorros*, folio 101; Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*, p. 193.

⁸¹ Letter of Madrid, October 3, 1684, *Autos sobre los Socorros*, folio 43; letter of Ramírez, April 14, 1685, *ibid.*, f. 140.

⁸² Declaration of Juan the Quivira, July 15, 1684, *Autos sobre los Socorros*, folio 10.

de Campo Alonso García with a squad of soldiers to conduct him safely through the lands occupied by the apostates. According to the confession of a Manso captive who was present when this messenger reached the ranchería of the heathen Indians, and from whom Cruzate received a statement on September 19, when the Suma had delivered his message he proceeded to abuse the Spaniards. But, though this mission failed, discontent was rife among the Sumas and Mansos, as the confessions of Juan and Joseph the Tano, given above, show.⁸³

In March, 1685, however, most of the Sumas and Conchos returned to obedience. The captains of these nations made known to Cruzate their wish for peace, saying that their people were greatly harassed by the war, and had neither a place to conceal themselves from the Spaniards nor a place to get food. Knowing that Father Salvador de San Antonio was then on his way from Casas Grandes to El Paso, Cruzate sent Captain Madrid with six men to meet him and tell him to grant the offered peace. The Indians likewise, having notice of Cruzate's plans, went to meet the priest and made submission, surrendering their leaders and a little Spanish captive.⁸⁴

The peace made in December between Ramírez and the Indians of El Ojo Caliente was not fulfilled, the Indians going to Sonora. There in January or February some of them, a few Mansos among them, descended to a frontier post and asked peace of Captain Alonso Pérez Granillo. Though the Indians did not belong to his jurisdiction, Granillo granted it. It proved, however, of short duration, for they soon made three attacks on a pueblo and *visita* of the district of Santa María, carried off a drove of horses, and took refuge in a sierra.⁸⁵ About the same time that these events occurred, Ramírez reported that the Indians in the region of Parral had already returned to obedience.⁸⁶

⁸³ *Auto* of Cruzate, September 15, 1684, *Autos sobre los Socorros*, folio 13; declaration of Juan, September 19, 1684, *ibid.*, f. 13; declaration of Joseph, November 3, 1684, *ibid.*, ff. 14-15.

⁸⁴ Letter of Cruzate, April 30, 1685, *ibid.*, folio 109; letter of Father Salvador de San Antonio, April 25, 1685, folio 138.

⁸⁵ Letter of Ramírez, April 14, 1685, *ibid.*, folio 140; letter of Cruzate, April 30, 1685, *ibid.*, f. 109.

⁸⁶ Letter of Ramírez, April 14, 1685, *ibid.*, folio 140.

In letters of August 12 and 26, 1685, Cruzate informed the viceroy that the Manso apostates and heathen had asked peace with a great show of submission and with promises to mend their ways. Aware of their treachery, Cruzate told the viceroy that he would need to exercise great prudence in granting the peace. His fears proved well grounded, for some of the Mansos returned to apostasy.⁸⁷ Quiet was not restored until 1686.⁸⁸ When it is remembered that the revolt comprehended ten nations—the Mansos, Sumas, Janos, Julimes, Conchos, Apaches, Jocomes, Chinaras, Salineros, and Dientes Negros—and that the means of the Spaniards for suppressing a revolt were limited indeed, it should not be a matter of surprise that the Spaniards were so slow in quelling the disturbance.⁸⁹

8. *Results of the Revolt.*—Conditions within the area of revolt can better be imagined than described. Shut in on all sides by the enemy, with most of the citizens as well as the regular soldiers almost continuously on campaign, the people of El Paso were soon suffering from the need of food and clothing. Because of the drought, the limited means for irrigation, and the depredations of the Indians, few crops were harvested in 1684—not enough, indeed, to last six months, according to the report of the religious in September. According to the account given by López, who left El Paso for Mexico City during the autumn of 1684, food was so scarce that many resorted to wild herbs for food, and many would not go to mass because of not having sufficient clothing to hide their nakedness. That López did not overstate conditions is evident from a few examples taken at random from a muster roll of the citizens made November 11, 1684:

Family of Captain Joseph Tellez Xiron, which is composed of ten persons. It has neither provisions nor a maize patch; being asked why, he [Joseph Tellez Xiron] said it had dried up through lack of water, as is true;

⁸⁷ Letter of Cruzate, August 26, 1685, *Autos sobre los Socorros*, folio 123; petition of the cabildo, September 27, 1685, *ibid.*, f. 146; letter of Cruzate, August 12, 1685, *ibid.*, f. 143.

⁸⁸ Escalante, *Carta de 1778*, in *Land of Sunshine*, vol. 12, p. 311.

⁸⁹ Letter of Francisco Ramírez, April 14, 1685, *Autos sobre los Socorros*, folio 140; declaration of Roque Madrid, April 13, 1685, *ibid.*, folio 100.

clothing, very indecent; almost naked. The said [Captain] has two saddle horses, an arquebus, sword, and dagger." . . . "Family of Domingo Lujan, which is composed of eight persons. He planted a maize patch, from which he reaped twenty *fanegas* of maize. Clothing somewhat decent. He has six saddle horses, an arquebus, and sword." . . . "Family of Apolinar Martin, which is composed of ten persons; poor and in extreme necessity."⁹⁰

The conditions described in the muster roll prevailed, notwithstanding the efforts of the religious and the governor to supply the needy with food brought from Casas Grandes and other places, for the roads were closed by the rebels and supplies were brought at great risk.⁹¹ The situation grew so extreme and aid from Mexico was so tardy that in the spring of 1685, probably in March, another religious named Fray Francisco Farfán was sent to Mexico City to add the weight of his petition to that of Fray Nicolás López, whose mission so far was fruitless. Every letter or communication to the superior government detailed conditions and begged for aid, without avail. Another season of drought followed with shortage of crops. New petitions poured in to the superior government. At length, in November, a grant of two thousand five hundred pesos was set aside to relieve the immediate needs of the citizens.⁹²

Conditions at Casas Grandes were similar to those at El Paso. The people were confined to the convent at Casas Grandes, where

⁹⁰ Muster roll, November 11, 1684, *Autos sobre los Socorros*, folio 50; opinion of the religious, September 19, 1684, *ibid.*, f. 78; representation of López, about June 7, 1685, *ibid.*, f. 86. See also a letter of the cabildo, July 6, 1684, *ibid.*, f. 142; letter of Cruzate, July 25, 1684, *Expediente No. 2*, pp. 44-47; letter of the cabildo, August 18, 1684, *ibid.*, f. 33; petition of the cabildo, September 30, 1684, *ibid.*, f. 40.

⁹¹ Letter of Cruzate, July 25, 1684, *Expediente No. 2*, pp. 44-47; opinion of the religious, September 19, 1684, *Autos sobre los Socorros*, folios 77-78; representation of López, *ibid.*, ff. 84-89.

⁹² Letter of Fray Salvador de San Antonio, April 25, 1685, *Autos sobre los Socorros*, folios 138-9; letter of Cruzate, April 30, 1685, *ibid.*, f. 110; letter of Cruzate, May 1, 1685, *ibid.*, f. 112; *Dictamen Fiscal*, July 27, 1685, *ibid.*, ff. 109-112; letter of Cruzate, August 12, 1685, *ibid.*, f. 143; action of the cabildo, August 23, 1685, *ibid.*, ff. 124-5; action of the cabildo, September 27, 1685, *ibid.*, f. 145; *Dictamen Fiscal*, November 27, 1685, *ibid.*, f. 144; action of the junta general, November 28, 1685, *ibid.*, f. 160.

they had gone for safety when the outbreak of September occurred, for, notwithstanding their entreaties to be allowed to abandon the place, the governor ordered them to remain there. In December Ramírez found the need of food and clothing so great and the need of soldiers to aid the people, who were now worn out from incessant guard duty, so pressing that he went in person to make a report to his governor at Parral. In response to this appeal the governor promised Ramírez aid and protection until he could hear from the viceroy; and at the same time he offered lands and cattle for breeding purposes to the refugees from New Mexico who were found scattered in the vicinity of Casas Grandes and Sonora, if these refugees would settle at Janos. These offers were doubtless of little service to Casas Grandes, for the refugees took no heed of the offers of land and stock, and the citizens in and about Casas Grandes continued to seek refuge elsewhere, driven to do so by the constant hostility of the Indians, who seem at this time to have harassed the regions of Casas Grandes and Sonora even more than El Paso. Ramírez was impelled by the disastrous condition of the place to address a memorial to the viceroy, in which he recounted the events of the revolt and the losses sustained by the citizens.

According to Ramírez's report, dated April 14, 1685, more than two thousand horses and mules and two thousand small stock, including the breeding stock of both that place and Sonora, had been driven away by the Indians. Moreover, a great number of cattle had been stolen by the Indians for food. Three silver smelters and much other property belonging to Ramírez were burned or destroyed. The Indians had already destroyed the churches and pueblos at Janos and Carretas, and had profaned and destroyed the sacred objects in the churches. Ramírez made a plea for the viceroy to send aid to protect the missions at Casas Grandes, Santa Ana del Torreón, San Pedro, and Santa Maria Nativitas.⁹³

⁹³ Letter of Francisco Ramírez, April 14, 1685, *Autos sobre los Socorros*, folios 140-142.

A fuller conception of the extent of the damage done in the area of revolt may be gathered from the following description given by Father López:

In Vizcaya there were depopulated the pueblo of Carretas; the mission of San Xaviel; the pueblo of Casas Grandes burned, more than three thousand small stock and more than one thousand beasts, horses, and mules being carried away; the mission of Torreon; the pueblo of San Antonio of Julimes; the pueblo of San Francisco of Conchos; the pueblo of San Pedro of Conchos; the pueblo of Nombre de Dios; the pueblo of San Geronimo; all these being administrations of the fathers of Zacatecas. In addition to these there were injured or destroyed the silver smelter and the hacienda El Ojo de Ramos belonging to Captain Francisco Ramirez; the hacienda of San Lorenzo belonging to Captain Domingo de la Presa, with more than thirty thousand beef cattle; the hacienda of Tabalaopa belonging to the said captain [Domingo de la Presa] and composed of another six thousand head of cattle; the hacienda of Las Hensinillas; the hacienda belonging to Captain Falcon—all these with a number of beeves and horses which the hostile Indians carried away. Many places in the valleys of the Encinillas and Rio del Sacramento settled by Spaniards were deserted. Murders and depredations on property were perpetrated as far as the presidio of Cerro Gordo. In less time than a year and a half six thousand beasts, [horses apparently], were carried away from Parral and its vicinity, to the detriment of both citizens and miners.⁹⁴

⁹⁴ Representation of López, in *Viage*, pp. 64b-65.

VI. THE CONSOLIDATION OF THE SETTLEMENTS IN 1684

1. *The Removal of the Presidio.*—The exigencies of the Indian war just described made more compact settlement at El Paso imperative. Cruzate, therefore, selected the site of Guadalupe, the point nearest the ford, as the strategic point to hold. There he moved the presidio and near there he established the Spanish and Indian settlers, who had been distributed at various points along the river. It will be remembered that in 1683 Cruzate placed the presidio about seven leagues from the pueblo of El Paso and midway between that place and San Lorenzo, which was about twelve leagues below El Paso. From that location the presidio was removed to Guadalupe del Paso sometime previous to July 6, 1684.¹ There it probably remained, for when Rivera made his *visita* in 1728 he listed the presidio "Passo del Rio," along with the presidios of Conchos and Janos, in Nueva Vizcaya, from which it may be surmised that it still stood on the south bank of the river.² A muster made November 14, 1684, probably just after Captain Madrid's return from Casas Grandes, showed the full quota of men present. The name of each soldier, his arms, munitions, and horses or mules, were given; and each muster was signed by the soldier and certified by the governor.³

Previous to the removal of the presidio to Guadalupe del Paso, Cruzate had probably done nothing toward building the *casas reales* for lodging the soldiers and civil officers, as these

¹ Letter of the cabildo, July 6, 1684, *Autos sobre los Socorros*, folio 149; certification of the cabildo, October 27, 1684, *ibid.*, f. 20; certification of the officers of the Presidio, November 15, 1684, *ibid.*, f. 18.

² *Proyecto y vissita de Presidios hecha el año de 1728 pr el Brigadier D. Pedro Rivera*, in *Provincias Internas* 29, *Archivo General* 300. *Numero 1*; see also Menchero, *Ynforme*, in *Doc. Hist. N. Mex.*, vol. 2, pp. 746-749.

³ Muster of the Presidio del San Joseph, November 14, 1684, *Autos sobre los Socorros*, folio 24.

buildings appear to have been constructed after the change was made. Though they were in an unfinished state on August 18, 1685, they were sufficiently well under way to enable the cabildo to give a fairly clear description of them. The cabildo wrote:

And his lordship bought of the Mansos Indians the site in this pueblo on which now his lordship has built some *casas reales* for the dwelling-place of the governors. These [buildings] have a reception room, an apartment which serves as a secretary's office, another capacious apartment in which he is lodged, a cellar underground for the munitions of powder and balls, another apartment for a sleeping room, and two kitchens with their yard, and a pantry—all the aforesaid was built of adobe. Likewise his lordship has bought of the Mansos Indians three other houses adjoining the said *casas reales*. The one in which he has the guard-room, and which also serves as a jail, has two rooms; the other two adjoining it have, the one, two rooms, and the other, three rooms. Another house, which he likewise bought of the said Mansos, and which is beside the *casas reales*, has three small rooms. The wars and numerous expeditions upon which the governor and captain-general have set out have not given him an opportunity to finish the building.⁴

On August 26, 1685, Cruzate wrote to the viceroy saying that he was sending with his letter evidence that he had erected certain buildings, in compliance with the instructions given him, but that he had been unable to finish them because of the revolt; that he also submitted to the Tribunal of Accounts a statement of his expenditures for the buildings. He mentioned having bought the site and three adjoining buildings from the Mansos.⁵

The location of the *casas reales* is indicated in the description of the settlements at El Paso given by a resident of that place on September 1, 1773. He says: "The most of this situation is found in the plain and floodlands of the river (*plan y caja del río*) [and] on the hills which form its margin; and only the church and the *casas reales* are found situated on a hill which forms the margin of said floodlands."⁶

⁴ Certification of the cabildo, August 26, 1685, *Autos sobre los Socorros*, folio 128.

⁵ Letter of Cruzate, August 26, 1685, *Autos sobre los Socorros*, folio 122.

⁶ *Descripción*, etc., in *Doc. para la Hist. de Nuevo Mexico*, Tomo II, pp. 1076-1090. Bancroft collection.

At the time of the outbreak of the Indian war, the equipment of the presidio in men and military stores appeared inadequate to conduct the war with credit and to preserve the establishments at El Paso. Cruzate made known this lack of equipment to the viceroy in a letter dated July 25, 1684. The appeal, which was in the hands of the fiscal on October 3, proved futile, for the fiscal declared that the presidio could not be increased nor new arrangements made without the consent of the Royal Council of the Indies, and the junta general supported his opinion.⁷ Before the decision of the junta general reached Cruzate, he renewed his appeal for supplies, on October 7th. He asked for one hundred coats of mail, breastplates, and helmets, as the citizens had sold their leather jackets and arquebuses for food; the soldiers were afoot, their horses and mules having been stolen, or being worn out from hard usage and lack of provender. The fiscal, however, remained firm in his former decision, adding that the people should recover the arms they had sold, as there were neither coats of mail nor helmets at the court of Mexico to send him.⁸

2. *The Removal of the Settlements.*—The settlements were apparently removed nearer to Guadalupe del Paso at the same time the presidio was transferred. As the settlements, which were scattered along the river a distance of ten or twelve leagues, were difficult to defend, Cruzate assembled them within a district of a league and a half, and within easy range of presidial protection. The Tigua and Piro pueblos of Senecú, Socorro, and Isleta were removed at the same time.⁹ Most of the Spaniards appear to have been living at San Lorenzo, where the civil officers had their quarters; and they had been there three and a half

⁷ Letter of Cruzate, July 25, 1684, *Expediente No. 2*, pp. 44–47; *Dictamen Fiscal*, October 11, 1684, *ibid.*, pp. 48–50; action of the junta general, *ibid.*, p. 50.

⁸ Letter of Cruzate, October 7, 1684, *Viage*, p. 80; *Dictamen Fiscal*, January 22, 1685, *ibid.*, pp. 83–84.

⁹ Letter of the cabildo, July 6, 1684, *Autos sobre los Socorros*, folio 149; letter of Cruzate, July 25, 1684, *Expediente No. 2*, p. 46; *Dictamen Fiscal*, October 11, 1684, *ibid.*, p. 49; certification of the cabildo, October 27, 1684, *Autos sobre los Socorros*, folio 20.

years, during which time they must have acquired some kind of permanent dwellings, with arrangements for farming and raising cattle. It is not surprising, then, that they did not take kindly to the proposed change, and that the governor was forced to order the removal made on pain of death to the delinquents. When the settlers were finally domiciled in their new quarters, they found the place very short of conveniences and destitute of pasturage.¹⁰ These disadvantages, added to the forced removal, were the cause of friction between the citizens and the governor, of which an account will follow.¹¹

The location of the various settlements after the removal is gathered largely from subsequent, rather than from contemporary, accounts of the settlements. If the word of an unknown writer, who claimed to have resided at El Paso seven years, may be believed, in 1773 the settlements were on the south side of the river; "Hallase esta poblazon en las margenes del rio del Norte á la banda del Sur, etc."¹² In contemporary accounts, San Lorenzo is variously located at two, one and a half, and one league from El Paso.¹³ Trigo, Morfi, and Bonilla, however, place it a league and a half east of El Paso.¹⁴ Senecú was two leagues below El Paso; following the road to the east, and about a half league from the Río del Norte.¹⁵ Bonilla and Morfi place Isleta three leagues east of El Paso, but Trigo places it about two

¹⁰ Letter of the cabildo, July 6, 1684, *Autos sobre los Socorros*, folio 149; petition of the cabildo, September 27, 1685, *ibid.*, ff. 145-46.

¹¹ Petition of the cabildo, September 20, 1684, *Autos sobre los Socorros*, folio 36; reply of Cruzate, September 20, 1684, *ibid.*, f. 37; petition of the cabildo, September 30, 1684, *ibid.*, f. 40, etc.

¹² *Descripción de las particularidades más demarcables de la poblazon del Paso del Río del Norte expuestas, por un habitante en sigue*, dated September 1, 1773, in *Doc. Hist. Nuevo Mexico*, vol. 2, pp. 1076-1090.

¹³ Petition of the cabildo, September 27, 1685, *Autos sobre los Socorros*, folios 145-146; certification of the cabildo, October 27, 1684, *ibid.*, f. 20; list of families, September 11, 1684, *ibid.*, f. 51.

¹⁴ Morfi, *Descripción Geographica*, etc., 1782, in *Memorias*, vol. 25, pp. 113-116 [Mr. Curd's notes]. Bonilla, *Apuntes*, 1776, in *New Mex. Cédulas*, No. 167; Trigo, *Carta*, 1754 in *Doc. Hist. Nuevo Mexico*, vol. 1, pp. 288-289; *Descripción de las particularidades*, etc., *ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 1070-1090; and Menchero, *Ynforme*, *ibid.*, pp. 746-749; Villa Señor, *Theatro Americano* (Mexico, 1746), vol. 2, pp. 411-422.

¹⁵ See works cited in note 14.

leagues from Senecú; if the former authorities are right, Trigo's estimate is one league too much.¹⁶ Indeed, another eighteenth century writer confirms the latter conjecture, for he says that San Lorenzo, Senecú, Ysleta, and Socorro are not more than one league apart.¹⁷ Morfi and Menchero place Isleta one league from the Río del Norte.¹⁸ The same writers place Nuestra Señora del Socorro five leagues east of El Paso, one league from Isleta, and a half league from the Río del Norte.¹⁹ The five settlements of San Lorenzo, Senecú, Isleta, Socorro, and Guadalupe—whose site was never changed—were the only ones remaining in the eighteenth century. Accordingly, of López's settlements, the locations of the following have not been accounted for by the later writers: the Indian pueblos of San Francisco, Sacramento, and Santa Getrudis; and the Spanish pueblos of San Pedro de Alcántara and San José. It is known that Santa Getrudis and San Francisco were destroyed during the Manso revolt. The mission at Santa Getrudis seems never to have been rebuilt, but a century later the site of that mission was known as Ojito de Samalayuca^{19a} and today the place, which is a small railway station south of Juárez, still bears the name of Samalayuca. As for San Francisco and Sacramento no information is as yet forthcoming. The Spanish settlement of San Pedro de Alcántara—San José appears to have been identical with the presidio,²⁰—was probably abandoned, for the muster made in November does not mention it.²¹ All of the five settlements still in existence in the eighteenth century comprised both Spanish and Indian settlers.

¹⁶ Bonilla, *op. cit.*; Morfi, *op. cit.*, pp. 113–116; Trigo, *op. cit.*, pp. 289–90.

¹⁷ *Doc. Hist. N. Mex.* (dated 1750), vol. 1, p. 66.

¹⁸ Morfi, *op. cit.*, pp. 113–116; Menchero, *Ynforme*, in *Doc. Hist. Nuevo Mexico*, vol. 2, pp. 746–749; Villa Señor, *Theatro Americano* (Mexico 1746), vol. 2, pp. 411–422.

¹⁹ See Morfi, Bonilla, Trigo, Menchero, and Villa Señor, works cited in note 14.

^{19a} Escalante, *Carta de 1778*, pp. 120–121, in *Doc. para la Historia de Mexico, Tercera Serie* (Mex., 1856).

²⁰ “Comprende dicha poblacion cinco Misiones de Yndios nombrados la de Ntra Sra. de Guadalupe, y. Sr. San José del Paso (capital)” — *Descripcion de las particularidades*, 1773, in *N. Mex. Doc.*, vol. 2, pp. 1076–1090.

²¹ See paragraph below.

From a muster roll of the citizens in and about El Paso, made by order of the governor on November 11, 1684, the number of settlers is learned. This census showed in the pueblo of Corpus Christi de la Isleta twenty-one families and one hundred and eighty-eight persons; in the Real de San Lorenzo, thirty-six families and three hundred and fifty-four persons; and in Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe del Paso, fifty-two families and four hundred and eighty-eight persons. There were therefore one hundred and nine families and one thousand and thirty persons, all told.²² At the time when Otermín made his muster, October 2, 1680, there were one thousand nine hundred and forty-six persons, including men, women, children, and servants.²³ A loss of nine hundred and sixteen persons is therefore evident. This loss can be explained by the great numbers reported to have fled to Parral, Casas Grandes, Río del Sacramento, and other places.

²² Muster roll, November 11, 1684, *Autos sobre los Socorros*, folios 50-56; *Auto* of Cruzate, *ibid.*, f. 34.

²³ *Auto* of Otermín, October 2, 1680, *Autos tocantes*, folios 61-62.

VII. EFFORTS TO ABANDON EL PASO, 1684-1685

1. *The Petition to the Viceroy.*—The extreme sufferings of the people at El Paso determined them to abandon the place and to seek another location, with soil and climate better adapted to agriculture. This desire to leave El Paso, however, was not a recent impulse. When the colonists retreated from New Mexico it appears they were induced to make a halt at El Paso by Father Ayeta's promise to provide food for them for a period of four months, or until instructions from the viceroy should come. Notwithstanding this aid, conditions at El Paso grew so distressing that early in 1681 the colonists began to clamor for permission to retire to Sonora, San Joseph del Parral, and other adjacent places, where they hoped to be self-sustaining; and many, indeed, fled from the place without license. To allay these clamors and to secure the advice of those in authority in religious and lay circles, on April 5, 1681, Governor Otermín ordered a council of war to be held at Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe del Paso, in which the custodian, the definitors, the maestros de campo, the sargentos mayores, and captains were asked for their opinions respecting what course seemed best to pursue. The opinions of these representative men being so divided, the governor concluded to remain at El Paso until he should receive instructions from Mexico City, and to dispatch Maestre de Campo Pedro de Leyba with ten men to Casas Grandes and other neighboring places to secure food at the expense of the governor.¹ Although there is a gap in the evidence now available to the writer, it is not improbable that these clamors to leave El Paso were kept up in a desultory way until the Manso revolt encouraged the wretched citizens to resolve to press their petitions for license

¹ *Auttos que se yeieron sobre clamar los vez[i]nos de este r[ei]no por salir a mejorarse, de puesto por la grave nesesidad que padesen, April 5-June 15, 1681* (Santa Fé Archives, in Library of Congress).

to leave. In pursuance of this resolution there followed a series of petitions directed to both the viceroy of New Spain and the governor of New Mexico. The first petition, which was dated July 6, 1684, and formulated by the cabildo in the name of the citizens, was addressed to the viceroy. Prefacing their request with a review of their hardships from the time of their retreat from New Mexico to the recent removal to Guadalupe, the petitioners asked for license to settle on El Río del Sacramento, or Nombre de Dios. Their reasons for wishing to make the change were the better opportunities offered by the latter place for earning a livelihood; the ease with which they might incorporate themselves with other New Mexican citizens already settled there; the fact of their being still within the limits of New Mexico, as the king had recently granted to New Mexico jurisdiction as far south as El Río del Sacramento; and the opportunity offered by the change for regaining sufficient strength for a successful attack upon the revolted nations.^{1a} This petition may never have reached the viceroy, for in another of September 27, 1685, the cabildo informed him that the messenger, the regidor and alguacil mayor Joseph de Padilla, by whom they had dispatched the petition, had upon his return to El Paso refused to give a satisfactory explanation of the conduct of his mission, and had taken refuge in the convent to avoid further molestation.²

2. *Petitions to Governor Cruzate.*—In August and September, 1684, the cabildo presented a number of petitions to Cruzate, asking for permission to abandon El Paso. The first of these, dated August 18, was substantially the same as that to the viceroy, except that the change of place read “to the valley of San Martin, Rio del Sacramento, or Nombre de Dios.”³ Cruzate replied that the royal provisions of his office and the orders of the king to preserve the pueblo del Paso prohibited his granting the license. He agreed, however, to make a list of the families,

^{1a} Petition of the cabildo, July 6, 1684, *Autos sobre los Socorros*, folio 150.

² Petition of the cabildo, September 27, 1685, *ibid.*, folio 148.

³ Petition of the cabildo, August 18, 1684, *ibid.*, folios 32–34.

with a statement of their means of subsistence, clothing, and other property, so that the king, through the viceroy and royal council, might provide for their wants.⁴

Displeased with Cruzate's decision, the cabildo renewed their petition on September 20. This second document was not couched in the conciliatory terms of the first. The petitioners said that the king had ordered that the citizens should be preserved; and that since the governor had acted on his own responsibility in removing them recently from San Lorenzo to Guadalupe del Paso, giving sufficient reasons for doing so, now that their condition was worse he had better reasons for acting on his own initiative. They also pointed out that the loyal Indians were ready to make the change.⁵

Cruzate's reply was vigorous. He reiterated his inability to order the change because of the royal provisions of his office and two royal orders to the contrary. He said that before the proper person and at the proper time he would answer the charge of having removed the citizens from San Lorenzo to Guadalupe del Paso. He said that the abandonment of El Paso would be resorted to only in the last extremity, to prevent the Indians from triumphing over sacred things, and that the demolition of the church was not to be imagined. He charged the people with desiring to abandon El Paso at the time when he and Father López arranged for them to settle a league from the pass; and he disclaimed responsibility for their loss of goods, improvements, and other possessions, on the ground that he was not responsible for their being there, as he was merely executing the orders of the superior government. Granted that he could give the license, he said, so many poor people would be unable to make the change without royal aid. The mention of the Indians greatly displeased him, as such interference in Indian affairs was likely to create trouble with them. He commanded the cabildo to produce within twenty-four hours the royal orders cited by them in regard to preserving the citizens of San Lorenzo. He offered to get the

⁴ *Auto* of Cruzate, undated, *Autos sobre los Socorros*, folios 34-35.

⁵ Petition of the cabildo, September 20, 1684, *ibid.*, folio 36.

opinion of the resident body of religious on the proposed change, and promised to send the petitions, the answers given them, and the opinion of the religious to the king.⁶

On the same day that the governor's *auto* was promulgated, the religious assembled in the *casas reales* to discuss the petition. There were present Father López, the vice-custodian, and the definitors Fray Diego de Mendoza, Fray Pedro Gómez, and Fray Juan Muñoz de Castro. The priests agreed that the abandonment of El Paso was impossible for many reasons, the chief of which was the royal order to the contrary. Other reasons were the expense involved, the encouragement such a procedure would afford the Indians, and the inability of the people to escape their poverty, no matter where they might settle. As the citizens had already awaited the royal pleasure four years, the priests advised them to wait five or six months longer.⁷

The cabildo, meanwhile, had petitioned Father López to represent the people. This petition, probably, and his own realization of the gravity of conditions, led López to order the religious to assemble again for the purpose of taking counsel together. The meeting was held September 19, in the convent of San Antonio del Senecú, in the pueblo of the Piros. In stating the purposes of the meeting López said that he recognized the difficulty of remaining at El Paso because of the Manso revolt, and he thought it would be well for the religious to send one of their number to the city of Mexico to inform the viceroy and the superior prelates of conditions there. Since the secular authorities had done so little to aid the people, he proposed that the religious should undertake to sustain the poorer citizens until aid should come, and that the work of the religious should be made known to the central authorities. He asked them to select one of their number to undertake the proposed mission. Regarding Father López as the one best acquainted with every phase of the situation at El Paso, the religious unanimously chose him as their messenger.⁸

⁶ *Auto* of Cruzate, undated, *Autos sobre los Socorros*, folio 37.

⁷ Opinion of the religious, undated, *ibid.*, f. 39.

⁸ Declaration of López, September 19, 1684, *Viage*, pp. 88-90; opinion of the religious, September 19, 1684, *ibid.*, pp. 90-92.

On September 30, Cruzate had his secretary, Don Pedro Ladrón de Guevara, read to the cabildo his reply to their second petition. That body, now thoroughly aroused, petitioned again for the governor to take speedy action on their demand, professing to understand neither the logic of the governor's refusal nor the proposals of López to aid them. On October 2, for the third and last time, Cruzate issued an *auto* refusing their demands, but promising again to transmit the petitions, *autos*, and the opinion of the religious to the central government.⁹ Accordingly, on October 7 he wrote a letter to the viceroy enclosing the documents he had promised to send.¹⁰

3. *Opinion of the Fiscal, January 22, 1685.*—The *autos* and accompanying documents bearing on the abandonment of El Paso were placed in the hands of the fiscal on January 9, 1685. On the twenty-second of that month the fiscal made his report. He considered the arguments of Cruzate and the religious against abandoning El Paso sufficient, and advised that the place should be held until royal orders should come and until López should arrive and make his report. He ordered maize and meat sent to El Paso to relieve the people, whose sufferings were evident from the *autos* and the muster roll.¹¹ A junta general approved the fiscal's report on May 4.¹²

4. *The Mission of Father López to Mexico.*—Bearing with him testimonials from the governor and the cabildo, López set out for the city of Mexico late in the autumn of 1684, but he did not reach that city, apparently, until May or June of the next year.¹³ His report to the viceroy, which was presented on June 7 and was long and detailed, was in the main a repetition of the substance of the petitions, *autos*, and the opinions of the religious given above,

⁹ Petition of the cabildo, September 30, 1684, *Autos sobre los Socorros*, folios 40-42; *Auto* of Cruzate, October 2, 1684, *ibid.*, f. 42.

¹⁰ Letter of Cruzate, October 7, 1684, *Viage*, p. 81.

¹¹ *Dictamen Fiscal*, January 22, 1685, *ibid.*, pp. 83-87.

¹² Decree of the junta general, May 4, 1685, *ibid.*, p. 88.

¹³ Certification of Cruzate, October 7, 1684, *Autos sobre los Socorros*, folio 83; certification of the cabildo, October 4, 1684, *ibid.*, f. 79; *Informe* of Posadas, October 8, 1685, *ibid.*, f. 154.

and included a vivid account of the Indian revolt. López said that the abandonment of New Mexico would be fatal to Spanish supremacy in that region because of the encouragement it would give the Indians, who were already boasting that they would escape punishment, as did the Indians of New Mexico. He therefore recommended that the government should send men, arms, horses, provisions, and clothes to New Mexico, citing royal *cédulas* and decrees of the junta general in support of his advice. While he favored supporting the settlements at El Paso, he regarded them as temporary in character, for, he said: "Those citizens could be maintained and sustained in any one of the places up the river without cost to the Royal Hacienda, there being wide and open aqueducts [in those places]; indeed, it is impossible that His Majesty could maintain the said people in the said place of El Paso del Rio del Norte, by means of supplies brought, for the distance is more than one hundred leagues." The friendly advances already made by six pueblo tribes of the interior seem to have influenced López to favor a removal up the river.¹⁴

The fiscal, who received López's report on June 7, submitted his opinion on July 27. He advised against the removal of the settlement up the river on the ground that the region between El Paso and the pueblos of interior New Mexico was infested with the apostates, according to the confession of the peace messenger Lucas; that the six friendly pueblos represented only a small part of the revolted Indians of the pueblo region; and that the peace offer rested on doubtful security, as it was prompted by the inroads of hostile Indians, and it might prove an act of treachery to get the Spaniards in the power of their enemies. The fiscal, moreover, advised against granting an aid of four or five thousand pesos to the settlers of New Mexico, since very small returns had been received from former grants of money and equipment, and since such a grant would make a bad precedent. However, he favored both the change of location and the grant of money for making it, on condition that some capable person should go to New Mexico and, examining thoroughly conditions

¹⁴ Representation of López, June 7, 1685, *Autos sobre los Socorros*, folio 84.

there, should find a suitable site for the proposed change; or, if Cruzate and López should find the means of making the change, and, having made it and proved its utility, should present the expense account to the fiscal, the latter would recommend a grant of money to cover the expense. These proposals failing, the citizens must remain where they were, and Cruzate must detain them in whatever way he might find practicable, and aid them out of the funds given him for the presidio. In fine, the fiscal favored delay until the king's decision in the matter should arrive. His advice received the approval of the junta general on August 3, 1685.¹⁵

Not discouraged by the failure of his first effort, and bent upon achieving his mission, López made a second petition on September 5, basing it on the fiscal's promise of January 22 to send aid when López should arrive and make his report.¹⁶ He made a strong plea to remove the settlement eighty leagues up the river to the pueblo of Isleta, a place with fertile soil, abundantly supplied with water and good pasturage, and surrounded by the haciendas of many citizens.¹⁷ He estimated that to make the change the citizens would need some clothing, one thousand *fanegas* of maize, one thousand beeves, and one thousand horses, all of which would cost about five thousand pesos. Such a change, moreover, would assure to Christendom more than two thousand eight hundred natives already under administration; secure the protection and conversion of the nine nations at La Junta, recently taken under administration; and would end the dispute now ensuing between New Mexico and Nueva Vizcaya over jurisdiction. López showed that no new expense need be involved in the undertaking. The king had already three years before approved of sending twenty-six additional religious to New Mexico;

¹⁵ The viceroy to the fiscal and the junta general, June 7, 1685, *Autos sobre los Socorros*, folio 89; *Dictamen Fiscal*, July 27, 1685, *ibid.*, ff. 89-91; action of the junta general, August 3, 1685, *ibid.*, f. 91.

¹⁶ *Dictamen Fiscal*, January 22, 1685, *Viage*, pp. 83-87.

¹⁷ Through neglect, or from other motives, López did not name Isleta in this petition of September 5, but supplied the omission in a subsequent letter dated September 13, 1685. See *Autos sobre los Socorros*, folio 114.

as these had not been sent, because of the disturbances in New Mexico, the king had saved thereby forty-eight thousand pesos. If the twelve priests asked for by López in his first petition¹⁸ were sent to El Paso, there would still remain a saving of thirty-eight thousand pesos, which, added to the forty-eight thousand already saved, would amount to eighty-six thousand pesos. He felt assured that the new governor suggested by the fiscal could make the removal at small cost. López had one new scheme to offer—the sending of one hundred men to El Paso; these were to be taken from the jails and sent to New Mexico in charge of an officer named by the viceroy, and were to be supported by López, who offered five hundred *fanegas* of maize, three hundred beeves, and two hundred horses for their maintenance and support until harvest time.¹⁹

In reporting upon the second representation of Father López, the fiscal merely reaffirmed the opinion he had submitted on July 27. On the same day, September 15, the junta general took up the matter again for consideration; the members agreed to submit the petition, with all documents pertinent to the question, to Don Gonsalvo Suárez de San Martín, a member of the Royal Council and judge of the Real Audiencia, to whom the viceroy frequently submitted questions of grave importance.²⁰

5. *The Intercession of Posadas*.—About the twenty-eighth of September Father Alonso de Posadas, the procurator general of the order of St. Francis in the City of Mexico, appealed to the viceroy in behalf of López's petition; Posadas felt that his fourteen years' experience in New Mexico, four of which years he held the office of custodian, made him competent to judge of affairs in that country, and he urged the viceroy to make his decision on the basis of López's representation. Acting on this letter from one in high authority in religious affairs, the fiscal ordered a new

¹⁸ Representation of López, June 7, 1685, *Autos sobre los Socorros*, folio 84, ff.

¹⁹ Petition of López, September 5, 1685, *ibid.*, folios 115–116.

²⁰ To the fiscal, September 5, 1685, *ibid.*, folio 115; *Dictamen Fiscal*, September 15, 1685, *ibid.*, f. 116; action of the junta general, September 15, 1685, *ibid.*, f. 116.

hearing for Father López, and the viceroy invited Posadas to make his report to Don Gonsalvo Suárez.²¹ Posadas made his report on October 8. He said that El Paso had neither the water nor the other requisites for farming and cattle raising; he proposed, therefore, to move the settlers up the river, about one hundred leagues, to San Ildephonso, or to Santa Clara, where ample facilities for farming by irrigation and for stock raising were to be found. The site would prove an excellent one for the presidio, as it faced the revolted area and was in the immediate neighborhood of the pueblos. Posadas estimated the cost of the removal at twenty thousand pesos for clothing, arms, horses, and provisions.

Two things proposed by López, however, Posadas did not favor. He considered the complete abandonment of El Paso impracticable, and likely to prove a serious hindrance to transportation between Mexico and New Mexico, since the country between San Ildephonso, El Paso, and Parral was inhabited by hostile tribes; he proposed, therefore, a guard of ten soldiers of the presidio and forty citizens, of those already settled at El Paso, as a permanent garrison for the place. Posadas, moreover, did not favor the employment of convicts in New Mexico, as such men thought chiefly of escaping from restraint and would probably steal the horses of the other soldiers; he proposed that the alcalde mayor of Querétaro and other interior officers as far as Zacatecas should be employed to enlist volunteers from the farming class or from men accustomed to riding horseback, and, when one hundred volunteers were enlisted, to send them to New Mexico at the time the carts should set out.

To check the widespread inclination of the settlers to leave El Paso, Posadas recommended that the government send aid speedily to the distressed citizens. He favored the acceptance of López's offer of maize, meat, and horses, notwithstanding the aid was assured through debts and benefactions.²²

²¹ Letter of Posadas, undated, *Autos sobre los Socorros*, folio 152; *Dictamen Fiscal*, October 1, 1685, *ibid.*, ff. 152-153; decree of the viceroy, *ibid.*, f. 153.

²² Opinion of Posadas, October 8, 1685, *ibid.*, folios 154-156.

In his efforts to get at the root of the situation, Suárez examined other persons besides Posadas. Some of these approved the proposals and recommendations of Posadas; others, as ex-Governor Otermín, Juan Baptista de Escorza, and Francisco Xavier, considered the soil and climate of El Paso sufficiently good for supporting a settlement, and the recent drought due to temporary causes.

When Suárez completed his investigation, he placed the results in the hands of the fiscal, who, on October 26, gave his opinion. The fiscal said that the testimony of Posadas was of little value, since the latter had been absent from New Mexico twenty years, during which time conditions there had changed; and that the testimony of the other friars had been influenced by López and Posadas, whom he charged with having banished one priest from the city to prevent him from testifying. Leaning to the opinions of the lay witnesses, he sustained his opinion of July 27, that nothing should be done until the decision of the king was known, especially since the funds of the Real Hacienda were already pledged, and since such weighty matters as those proposed should not be left to the judgment of the governor and the religious, neither of whom had achieved success in New Mexico. He recommended, therefore, a grant of two or three thousand pesos to relieve the immediate needs of the settlers at El Paso, and, in the event a new governor were sent to New Mexico, that the latter make a full report on conditions there, accompanied by maps of places suitable for settlement.²³

The decision of the fiscal elicited another letter from Posadas, asking the viceroy to submit to the junta general, along with the *autos*, *informes*, and other papers bearing on the proposed change of settlement, the letters and reports made by ex-Governor Otermín in 1682. The viceroy granted the petition.²⁴

6. *The Final Appeal of the Cabildo*.—While these negotiations between Father López and the government were going forward

²³ *Dictamen Fiscal*, October 26, 1685, *Autos sobre los Socorros*, folios 157-160.

²⁴ Letter of Posadas, *ibid.*, folio 92; decree of the viceroy, *ibid.*, f. 92.

in Mexico, the long delayed action of the government and the increasing gravity of their own condition emboldened the citizens of El Paso to renew their petition to be allowed to settle on El Río del Sacramento. Those remaining at El Paso were so destitute of clothing that they could neither attend mass nor seek for food: the man who had a pair of trousers was fortunate. Some had sold arms, horses, and clothing for food; and others were subsisting on wild herbs and skins. To increase their helplessness, the Apaches were robbing them of what little they had left. The petition was taken to the city of Mexico by Regidor Lázaro de Mesquía, accompanied by a guard of four men. By November 3 it was in the hands of the fiscal, but the latter did not make known his answer until November 21. Then he charged López with having instigated it, and referred the petitioners to his decisions of July 27 and October 27.²⁵

7. *The Final Decision of the Junta General.*—On November 28, 1685, the junta general met to take final action on the question of abandoning El Paso. All documents germane to the question, including Cruzate's letters of August 12 and 26, and the cabildo's letters of July 2 and September 7, were taken under advisement. After due consideration, the assembly resolved that there was not sufficient information at hand to justify the change. It ordered Cruzate, therefore, to make an exhaustive report on the question, and to accompany it with maps of suitable sites for settlement. It ordered, further, a sum of two thousand five hundred pesos delivered to Cruzate from the treasury at Guadiana (Durango) to distribute among the needy at El Paso; and instructed Cruzate to make to the Royal Tribunal strict account of all sums thus disbursed. This decision, which sustained the opinion of the fiscal at all points, assured the permanent occupation of El Paso.²⁶

²⁵ Petition of the cabildo, September 27, 1685, *Autos sobre los Socorros*, folios 145-148; order of the viceroy, November 3, 1685, *ibid.*, f. 148; *Dictamen Fiscal*, November 21, 1685, *ibid.*, f. 151. In this last document the fiscal mentions letters of July 2d and September 7th, neither of which appear in the *expediente* called *Autos sobre los Socorros*.

²⁶ Action of the junta general, November 28, 1685, *Autos sobre los Socorros*, folios 160-161.

VIII. THE QUARREL WITH NUEVA VIZCAYA OVER JURISDICTION

1. *The Extent of the Jurisdiction of Nueva Vizcaya.*—In 1680, when the refugees from New Mexico took up their residence at El Paso del Norte, it seems that Nueva Vizcaya claimed, and in a way exercised, jurisdiction as far north as El Río del Norte. Moreover the government of New Mexico, as has been shown in the pages above, had planted and claimed dominion over the several mission settlements, of which Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe was the nucleus. Accordingly, the rival claims of the two provinces to the territory in and around El Paso led eventually to strained relations between the governors of the respective provinces.

A few citations will bear witness to the justice of the claims of Nueva Vizcaya. In September, 1680, when Otermín's fear of a widespread desertion of his people to Nueva Vizcaya became known to Don Bartolomé de Estrada Ramírez, governor of that province, the latter ordered Captain Andrés López de Gracia, lieutenant alcalde mayor of San Antonio de Casas Grandes, or, in case of his absence or inability, Captain Alonso Pérez Granillo, alcalde mayor of the jurisdiction of Carretas and Janos, to go personally to El Paso del Norte, "jurisdiction of this government, and adjacent to the boundary of the other," and prevent any person's passing from New Mexico to Nueva Vizcaya without license from Otermín. In obedience to this command, Captain Gracia went to El Paso, and there assembling all the people of the neighborhood, whether subjects of New Mexico or Nueva Vizcaya, he made known the proclamation of his governor, on October 5.¹ Meanwhile, on October 1, Otermín had ordered Maestre de Campo Francisco Xavier to make requisition of the lieutenant of the jurisdiction of Casas Grandes, or other

¹ *Auto* of the governor and captain general, September 24, 1680, *Auttos tocantes*, folio 79; proclamation of Captain Gracia, October 5, 1680, *ibid.*, ff. 79-80.

officers of Nueva Vizcaya who might be present in the conversion of Guadalupe del Paso, for the return to La Salineta of all deserters from New Mexico; and Otermín also requested that these officers prohibit any New Mexican subject from passing to Nueva Vizcaya without his written permit.² On the same day Xavier executed his commission, delivering Otermín's message to Captain José López de Gracia, the lieutenant of the alcalde mayor of Casas Grandes, who was in the pueblo of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe del Paso.³ Moreover, in a certification dated June 1, 1685, Captain Francisco Ramírez de Salazar, of Casas Grandes, mentions that upon Otermín's arrival at El Paso in 1680, the latter found there eight men from Nueva Vizcaya who had come to protect the frontier.⁴ Father Ayeta, likewise, adds his testimony to the justice of Nueva Vizcaya's claims when he says "the governor and captain general of El Paso (Don Bartolomé de Estrada)" has sent orders to all his justices to aid Otermín.⁵

2. *Jurisdiction over El Paso given to New Mexico.*—Notwithstanding the claims of Nueva Vizcaya, the superior government in its legislation of January, 1681, found it expedient to transfer the jurisdiction of El Paso to New Mexico. On the seventh of that month the fiscal recommended the transfer;⁶ and on the seventeenth a junta general decreed the following: "and since the place where the said people have halted, according to the demarcation, is in the territory of the government of Nueva Vizcaya, it will be possible, His Excellency being pleased, to order that for the present and until the said reduction takes form, the governor of New Mexico may use and exercise jurisdiction where he is, as if he were in the villa of Santa Fé."⁷

² *Auto* of Otermín, October 1, 1680, in *Auttos tocantes*, folios 57-58.

³ Certification of Francisco Xavier, October 1, 1680, *ibid.*, folio 58.

⁴ Certification of Francisco Ramírez de Salazar, June 1, 1685, *Autos sobre los Socorros*, folio 130.

⁵ Ayeta to the Com. Gen., December 20, 1680, *New Mex. Doc.*, vol. 1, pp. 547-8.

⁶ *Dictamen Fiscal*, January 7, 1681, *Auttos tocantes*, folio 90.

⁷ Action of the junta general, January 17, 1681, *ibid.*, folio 115.

This grant of jurisdiction appears to have been reaffirmed by the viceroy in 1682, the *mandamiento* specifically stating that the jurisdiction of New Mexico extended to the Río del Sacramento.⁸ The subsequent history of this question seems to indicate that this last decree of the viceroy was made at the time that Cruzate was chosen to supersede Otermín as governor of New Mexico. Indeed, Cruzate himself says in a letter to the viceroy dated November 16, 1684, that upon his arrival at San Joseph del Parral, in fulfillment of the viceroy's mandate, he made known to Bartolomé de Estrada and his lieutenant, Don Juan de Castilla, the viceroy's orders respecting the question of jurisdiction. The governor of Nueva Vizcaya, however, claimed that the territory given to New Mexico belonged to his government; accordingly, Cruzate took testimony of the transaction and transmitted the dispatches to the viceroy, through Bartolomé de Estrada and his lieutenant.⁹

3. *Jurisdiction Restored to Nueva Vizcaya.*—What conflict, if any, arose over the jurisdiction of the region between the Río del Sacramento and the Río del Norte between 1681 and 1684, is not clear from the documents now available. It is certain, however, that complications had arisen by the summer of 1684. Both Nueva Vizcaya and New Mexico stubbornly claimed the territory in question. Francisco Correa de Aguilar, a citizen of the former province, mentions having sent carts "to the place which they call La Toma del Río del Norte, jurisdiction of this kingdom of La Bizcaya."¹⁰ And the cabildo of New Mexico says that in removing to the Valley of San Martín, Río de Sacramento, or Nombre de Dios, the people will not be leaving the jurisdiction of New Mexico, since that place is where Don Juan Oñate took

⁸ *Mandamiento del Virrey*, 1682 (Bandelier Collection, in House Exec. Doc., 3rd Session, 53rd Congress, 1894-5). The writer has read this document only by title.

⁹ Cruzate to the viceroy, November 16, 1684, *Autos sobre los Socorros*, folio 30.

¹⁰ Letter of Francisco Correa de Aguilar, citizen of San Joseph del Parral, to the governor of Vizcaya, July 17, 1684, *ibid.*, folio 93.

possession of New Mexico;¹¹ and that the disputed region was given to Cruzate recently by the king.¹²

Both disputants carried their complaints to the superior government. In July, 1684, the cabildo complained to the viceroy that possession of El Río del Nombre de Dios, or Sacramento, which he had conceded to New Mexico, had never been obtained, much to the detriment of New Mexican colonists.¹³ Moreover, on July 25, Cruzate informed the viceroy that he had expostulated with the alcalde mayor of Casas Grandes, Francisco Ramírez de Salazar, over the question of jurisdiction, but that the alcalde had refused to submit to his authority, notwithstanding the expostulation was made in the name of the viceroy.¹⁴ In making his report on this letter the fiscal entered no comment on Cruzate's complaint.¹⁵ On October 7, Cruzate again wrote the viceroy that he had reprimanded the alcalde mayor of Casas Grandes concerning some matters pertaining to the control of New Mexico over La Soledad, but that the alcalde had replied that he was in the jurisdiction of Parral, and that he had written instructions from the governor of Nueva Vizcaya to obey no one but the latter.¹⁶ This time Cruzate's complaint elicited a reply from the fiscal, who advised thus: "On this point the fiscal sends the answer which he has given in the *autos* which the said governor sent concerning the reply which Don Bartolomé de Estrada—being governor of the said kingdom of Viscaya and the republic of El Parral—made when the said dispatch was made known to him."¹⁷ In the absence of the documents mentioned in this reply of the fiscal, the meaning would be unintelligible did not subsequent correspondence between the contending parties and the viceroy make it clear. It appears that

¹¹ The diary kept by Oñate does not sustain this claim. See Oñate's diary, *Doc. Inéd. de Indias*, vol. 16, p. 242.

¹² Petition of the cabildo to Cruzate, August 18, 1684, *Autos sobre los Socorros*, folio 33.

¹³ Petition of the cabildo, July 6, 1684, *ibid.*, folio 150.

¹⁴ Letter of Cruzate, July 25, 1684, *Expediente No. 2*, p. 45.

¹⁵ *Dictamen Fiscal*, October 11, 1684, *ibid.*, p. 48.

¹⁶ Letter of Cruzate, October 7, 1684, *Viage*, p. 79.

¹⁷ *Dictamen Fiscal*, January 22, 1685, *Autos sobre los Socorros*, folio 76.

in response to an *informe* of the citizens of Parral and neighboring settlements, the viceroy had restored jurisdiction to Nueva Vizcaya.

4. *Jurisdiction again Adjudged to New Mexico.*—That the viceroy had rescinded his grant of jurisdiction to New Mexico does not seem to have been known to Cruzate as late as May 1, 1685. On that day Cruzate wrote to the viceroy renewing his complaints against the governor of Nueva Vizcaya, charging the latter with not having surrendered control of the disputed area, and with having ordered the *alcalde mayor* of Casas Grandes and other officers within the disputed territory not to give obedience to the governor of New Mexico. When this letter was acted upon by the fiscal in July, his only comment was that the question had already been settled.¹⁸

In the meantime, the governor of Nueva Vizcaya informed Cruzate that the viceroy had restored to him the disputed territory. Accordingly, Cruzate directed another letter to the viceroy on August 12, in which he informed the latter that his recent ruling respecting the disputed area left him without jurisdiction and the people of El Paso under the rule of Nueva Vizcaya.¹⁹ At the same time, Cruzate reported the viceroy's action to the citizens of El Paso, and gave them a copy of the petition which the citizens of Nueva Vizcaya had made to the viceroy. On August 26, a body of the oldest settlers of El Paso drew up a memorial to the viceroy. They informed him of the tradition current in New Mexico that Oñate had taken possession of New Mexico on Río del Sacramento and asked him to confirm it by looking up the records in the archives. They informed him that the first missions at El Paso had been established by New Mexican friars, and that the first *alcaldes* of the place had been appointees of the New Mexican governors. They denied the claims of the Nueva Vizcayan citizens to being better able to quell Indian disturbances, giving proof that it was the arms of New

¹⁸ Letter of Cruzate, May 1, 1685, *Autos sobre los Socorros*, folio 111; *Dictamen Fiscal*, July 27, 1685, *ibid.*, f. 110.

¹⁹ Letter of Cruzate, August 12, 1685, *ibid.*, folio 143.

Mexican soldiers that had quieted the recent revolt. They denied also that the farms and haciendas along Río del Sacramento were old establishments, as the citizens of Nueva Vizcaya claimed, averring that those settlements had been placed there during the rule of Don Bartolomé de Estrada, who knew they were placed within New Mexican territory.²⁰ The cabildo, likewise, were not idle; on September 27 they complained to the viceroy that none of his orders respecting the grant of jurisdiction to New Mexico had been obeyed.²¹

It was not until November 27 that the fiscal made a report on Cruzate's letter of August 12 and the petition of the citizens of August 26. In response to the arguments set forth in the two documents, the fiscal recommended that the *mandamiento* returning jurisdiction to Nueva Vizcaya be withdrawn, and authority restored to New Mexico, without admitting further petitions. When the junta general met the next day it confirmed the recommendation of the fiscal.²²

On the same day that the junta general confirmed the *dictamen* of the fiscal—November 28, 1685—the viceroy issued a *mandamiento* restoring authority over the region of El Paso and its environs to New Mexico, in accordance with the patents of Governor Cruzate and his predecessors, and ordering that the original *mandamiento* be filed in the archives of New Mexico as proof of the restoration. When Governor Cruzate had received and made known the viceroy's order, he accordingly filed the document in the archives of that province, May 1, 1686.²³

²⁰ *Informe* of the citizens of El Paso, August 26, 1685, *Autos sobre los Socorros*, folio 126.

²¹ Action of the cabildo, September 27, 1685, *ibid.*, folio 146.

²² *Dictamen Fiscal*, November 27, 1685, *ibid.*, folio 144; action of the junta general, November 28, 1685, *ibid.*, f. 160.

²³ Mandam^{to} del Ex^{mo} S. Virrey de esta Nu^a España en que declara la jurisdiccion que pertenesce a este Gou^{no} de la Nu^a Mex.^{ca} en dos foxas y en papel cellado. (MS in Bancroft Collection.)

IX. CONCLUSION: SUMMARY OF SETTLEMENT IN THE EL PASO
DISTRICT, 1659-1685

The story of the quarter century of development in the El Paso district contained in the pages above can be briefly summarized. Before 1680 there was a nucleus of Spanish settlers scattered in and around the three missions of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, founded in 1659 at the ford of the river; San Francisco, twelve leagues below Guadalupe; and La Soledad, seventy leagues to the southeast of Guadalupe. The first considerable impetus given this somewhat straggling community was the coming of nearly two thousand refugees from New Mexico in the autumn of 1680. These fugitives from Indian hostility settled temporarily on the Mexican side of the Río del Norte in three camps called San Lorenzo, San Pedro de Alcántara, and Santísimo Sacramento, which were placed at intervals for a distance of twelve leagues below Guadalupe. The settlements were used as a base of operations for the expedition to New Mexico in 1681. The attempted reconquest failing, Otermín and his advisers determined upon making arrangements at El Paso for an indefinite stay there. To effect this more permanent organization, Otermín settled the Spaniards at San Lorenzo—whether or not San Pedro de Alcántara and Santísimo Sacramento were abandoned, is not clear—and founded for the accommodation of the Indians who had withdrawn from New Mexico with the Spaniards, three pueblos known as Senecú, Socorro, and Isleta.

Meanwhile, at the suggestion of Otermín and Father Ayeta, the central government determined in January, 1682, upon placing a presidio at El Paso. Although Otermín enlisted the fifty men and the armorer required for the presidio, his enlistment was not made in accordance with the orders of the junta general, nor does it appear that he built a fort. These details were left for fulfillment to his successor. The newly elected Governor Cruzate

secured the equipment for the presidio before he left Mexico, and on his arrival at El Paso in August, 1683, located it on a site which he selected half-way between Guadalupe and San Lorenzo, and about seven leagues from the former. At the same time that he founded the presidio, he and López reorganized the Spanish and Indian settlements, and planted one new mission at Santa Getrudis, about eight or twelve leagues south of Guadalupe, and seven new missions at La Junta, one hundred leagues to the southeast. The Spaniards were at that time distributed among four pueblos, San Lorenzo, San Pedro de Alcántara, Señor San José, and La Isleta; and the Indians were distributed among the pueblos of Socorro, San Francisco, Sacramento, San Antonio de Senecú, and La Soledad. This arrangement indicates two new Spanish settlements—San José and La Isleta—and one new Indian settlement at Sacramento.

Under the impetus of these changes and the influence of Cruzate and López, for a time affairs at El Paso seemed to be in a fair way to prosperity when the Manso revolt occurred in the spring of 1684, in which were allied the Mansos, Sumas, Janos, Julimes, Apaches, Conchos, and other less well known tribes. Only a remnant of the Mansos and the three pueblos of Piro and Tiguas remained faithful to the Spaniards. So numerous were the allies and so savage were their attacks on the missions and settlements that Cruzate was obliged, in the summer of 1684, to remove the presidio nearer Guadalupe del Paso and to gather under its immediate protection all the Spaniards and faithful Indians settled along the river.

Harassed by the Indian war and by the failure of their crops, the citizens of the district began in July, 1684, a series of petitions for license to abandon El Paso. Cruzate and the religious opposed the change; but when López went to the City of Mexico in behalf of the citizens he favored moving the settlement up the river seventy leagues to the old site of Isleta. The fiscal and the junta general refused his petition in August, 1685. The question, however, was reopened at the request of Posadas, the custodian in the City of Mexico; it was put in the hands of Don Gonsalvo

Suárez de San Martín for thorough re-examination. When Suárez made his report, which was the result of an examination of witnesses as well as of the documents pertaining to the subject, the consensus of opinion seemed in favor of holding El Paso. Accordingly the fiscal, the viceroy, and the junta general supported the holding of El Paso unless the king and the Royal Council of the Indies should order it abandoned.

Another question that disturbed the peace of the little settlement was the quarrel between New Mexico and Nueva Vizcaya over the jurisdiction of the land between El Río del Norte and El Río del Sacramento, which involved the control of Casas Grandes and its immediate environs. When Otermín lodged the refugees at El Paso for an indefinite stay there, the viceroy formally gave to New Mexico control over the region in January, 1681; and when Cruzate was made governor in 1682, he reaffirmed the grant of power in more specific terms. However, in 1684, jurisdiction was apparently restored to Nueva Vizcaya, in response to certain petitions made to the viceroy by the governor and the citizens of that province. Immediately the governor and the citizens of New Mexico took active measures to convince the central government of their rights and the vital importance of New Mexican control over the disputed territory. As a result of these labors the viceroy returned the rights of jurisdiction to New Mexico in November, 1685.

These twenty-six years of Spanish activity in the El Paso district attest the indefatigable energy of the Spanish priests, and reveal no inconsiderable returns for their endeavors. Measured in values of the mission, the pioneer of Spanish pioneers, the enterprise presented no mean showing. An area of more than three hundred and fifty miles in breadth, extending from Janos on the west to La Junta on the east, had been partly Christianized and partly settled. There had been reduced to doctrine a part of six or more native tribes, representing among other tribes, the Mansos, Sumas, Janos, Julimes, Piros, and Tiguas. There had been settled within the district fourteen Indian pueblos: Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe of Mansos, San Francisco of Sumas, La Soledad of Janos

and Sumas, Santa Getrudis of Sumas, Nuestra Señora del Socorro of Piros, Isleta of Tiguas, San Antonio de Senecú of Piros and Tompiros, and seven pueblos—sometimes referred to as nine—of Julimes, at La Junta. All but one of these, La Soledad de los Janos, was in the valley of the Río del Norte, or Río Grande, below the great bend. At each of these fourteen settlements there was a church, and in most cases a priest, there being ten Franciscan fathers administering to the group. Moreover, at each pueblo where dwelt a priest there was at least one Spanish family for the aid and protection of the priest. Finally, each pueblo was organized on a civic basis with a corps of Indian officers to manage the civic affairs of the Indians, the organization being patterned after that of the Spanish pueblo.

Measured in terms of the progress of Spanish settlement, the result was less comprehensive in area, but perhaps more solid at base. In addition to the Spanish families settled on farms and the ranches scattered over the area between the Pass and the Río del Sacramento, four pueblos of Spanish citizens were planted in the valley—San Lorenzo, San Pedro de Alcántara, Señor San José, and Isleta—the population of which aggregated at one time about two thousand persons. At the head of the government of both Spanish and Indian settlements was the provincial governor, aided by the council, known as the *cabildo*, *justicia*, y *regimiento* of Santa Fé, which appears to have acted as the chief agent of the entire body of citizens included in the four pueblos. For the protection and safety of both Indian and Spanish settlements, there was placed in their midst a *presidio* of fifty soldiers, whose employment was limited to local guard and police duty, and whose efficiency was tested during the Manso revolt. In fact, though in 1680 El Paso was regarded as the temporary home of the provincial government, by 1685 settlement had progressed sufficiently to assure it as a permanent part of New Spain and as the capital of New Mexico until the reconquest of the Pueblo region in 1693 by Vargas.

The importance of El Paso in the frontier history of New Spain can scarcely be overestimated. At the most critical period

in the early history of New Mexico, El Paso became the bulwark of the New Mexican colonists against the ravages of the Pueblo Indians, and made it possible eventually for Spanish arms to repossess the abandoned province. And, as El Paso was the bulwark of New Mexico, it was also the safeguard of the frontier settlements of Nueva Vizcaya. Nor is the relation of El Paso to early Texas history the least important part that place plays in the frontier history of New Spain. Though the beginning of Texas is commonly associated with the small group of missions established by Massanet in 1690 on the Neches River in Eastern Texas, as a matter of fact, the true beginnings of what is now Texas are to be found in the settlements grouped along the Río del Norte in the El Paso district.

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